

The author reserves to himself the right of translating.

P R E F A C E.

One of the most pleasing contemplations of our time is to see abuses, which have existed for thousands of years corrected, and prejudices sanctioned by numberless centuries removed. The sun of enlightenment begins to reach the remotest parts of the earth, and warms with its rays objects and conditions, which appeared to have been condemned for ever to an icy deathlike life. In simple words: Science now more than ever makes its salutary influence felt, and all that does not possess it for a foundation, finds its very existence threatened. Whereever science can be applied one knows beforehand to which side victory will finally incline; and it is this conviction that ever spurs on to fresh exertions, and ever inspires fresh courage for continued combat against everything false and bad whether it appears to us in the form of prejudice, abuse, oppression or vice. — The parts visited by Mr. J. J. Benjamin, namely the countries of the East, offer to such exertion an immeasurable field; all that debases mankind has held there for centuries an undisturbed sway, and created such confusion in the notions of right and wrong, that for the present one dare not hope for a speedy removal of this fearful condition of society. Fanaticism stands forth there in its most repulsive form, and often with bloody finger traces the horrors of its errors on the pages of history. Might takes the precedence

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

While the present work was in course of printing, the author had the honour of laying parts of it before several of the most renowned men of science, whose favourable opinions he prefixes to his own introduction; as in them he finds the best proof that his endeavours have not been quite destitute of result.

I.

**Extract from a letter of His Excellency Baron
Alexander v. Humboldt, Member of the King's
Privy Council, and Chamberlain to His
Majesty, at Berlin.**

Acknowledging the noble purpose which has actuated you in your travels in distant lands to ascertain the condition of a scattered and oppressed people, I have read with much interest several portions of your book. You portray conditions of degradation in the oppressed, and of arbitrary power in the oppressors, which are but little-known in Europe, and which will assuredly and with justice induce many to peruse your work.

May your new undertakings be likewise attended with success!

Berlin, March 15th 1858.

Alexander von Humboldt.

II.

Opinion of Professor D^r. Carl Ritter in Berlin.

Several chapters which I have read from proof sheets of an oriental journey of Mr. Benjamin have much interested me. They describe in very clear and simple language the adventures and experience of the author; and altho' written in a special point of view, they are yet in the warmest interest of his brethren and companions in the faith. By awakening interest in the west they are calculated to contribute in no slight degree to new and more complete journeys and researches for the improvement of their state in East; and every real exertion in behalf of their oppressed condition must be attended with fruitful result for a better future.

Berlin, March 30th 1858.

C. Ritter, Dr. & Prof. phil.
Member of the Academy of Sciences.

III.

Opinion of Professor D^r. H. Petermann in Berlin.

The travels of Mr. J. J. Benjamin, which he undertook in the same spirit as his celebrated namesake of Tudela, give interesting disclosures respecting the dispersion of his brethren in the faith in the different countries he has visited, their communities, customs and traditions, and may serve, by being brought into comparison with the work of that Rabbi, to show how the Israelitish population in the east has in one part increased and in another decreased. Notwithstanding his partiality for his brethren he does not conceal their faults, their want of education and their superstition, when they comes to his view; and altogether

his accounts bear the stamp of truth and credibility; so that the work, written as it is with freshness and liveliness, will gain the interest of many readers. This at any rate I heartily wish. — I can corroborate much of it by my own experience.

Berlin, March 29th 1858.

H. Petermann.

IV.

Opinion of Dr. A. Helfferich in Berlin.

To judge from what he has already accomplished, a second accurate research of Asia by Mr. Benjamin would, in my opinion, lead to even more satisfactory results. He is perfectly conversant with the condition of things in that country, and just the man to draw forth information respecting the now completely lost remnant not only of the Jews, but likewise of the Nestorians of Central-Asia. An invaluable acquisition of manuscripts could be then expected, which could not fail to be welcome to every friend of civilisation. The more difficult it is to make researches amid the ruins of antiquity the more sincerely is it to be wished that many others would not shun the danger attending of a journey to these clouded but memorable countries; the way and manner in which Mr. Benjamin has understood his undertaking, and in part has already accomplished it, justifies us in forming great hopes for the future. May the expectations of the worthy traveller himself be fulfilled!

Berlin, April 10th 1858.

Adolph Helfferich.

V.

Opinion of D^r Magnus in Breslau.

Being requested by Mr. Benjamin from Moldavia to give my opinion of his book of travels, concerning his eight years' wanderings and adventures in Asia and Africa, which will shortly appear complete in print, I can assert with the fullest confidence, as far as I have had an opportunity of looking through them, that his accounts are not only adapted to every educated person and as interesting and entertaining as well as instructive, but they are likewise a valuable acquisition to science in so far as they describe from the author's own observation, the state of the Jews in the above mentioned countries at the present time. Mr. Benjamin's work possesses peculiar interest from the unassuming spirit and simple language in which it is written and it reminds us of the book of travels of his celebrated brother in the faith and namesake of the 12th century; of the Massaoth of Benjamin of Tudela, by the side of which it worthily deserves a place.

Breslau, June 15th 1858.

D^r *E. J. Magnus,*

Prof. of Eastern and Rabbinical Literature
at the University of Breslau.

Space does not permit me to print with the above the opinions of other learned men of our time.

After such recommendations I hardly dare venture myself, and in fact I deem it superfluous, to say more of the work in question. After the exertions of several years I have found in *them* not only the richest reward for all my labours, but the stimulus necessary for the publication of this work, as well as a spur for unceasing efforts in the prosecution of that which I have begun.

In laying the results of my eight years' researches before the general reader as well as before all my brethren

in the faith, I venture to reckon on the indulgent opinion of all those who know the difficult and almost impracticable task devolving upon me. Since the days of the venerable and celebrated Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, no one has exclusively devoted himself to such a solemn undertaking, and this secular interruption of a highly important enterprise, increases the natural and numerous difficulties which oppose themselves to the prosecution of the matter.

Notwithstanding all obstacles I had to encounter, I believe I have still succeeded in throwing some light on the remnant of a people, whose long exile of hundreds of years has only appeared in the annals of history; of a people, who deserve the researches and sympathy of all who are impressed with a knowledge of the high mission which Providence has assigned them. I have endeavoured by a faithful description of their present condition, and by an investigation of their ancient traditions, to draw them forth from their night of forgetfulness, and happy shall I esteem myself if thereby I have been able to awaken some sympathy for them and to obtain some amelioration of their material condition together with some of the benefits of civilisation, and in particular religious toleration. Above all others, however, I wish to awaken the sympathy of my fellow-believers in Europe for their unhappy brethren, who are exiled in those inhospitable countries, which are seldom, if ever traversed by the foot of a European and who notwithstanding the direst persecution, oppression, pillage and murder practised against them for hundreds of years by fanaticism and barbarism, have still remained stedfast to the faith of their fathers. If anything effectual should be achieved by my narration of facts, I shall not regard the troubles and dangers of a long and wearisome journey as having been in vain.

Besides this great and chief object of my wanderings in the East, I have endeavoured, by the introduction of historical, geographical, statistical, and other notices, to give in their proper places in my work, some information until now

unknown, respecting the countries I have visited, and I hope it will be everywhere welcome.

The original French edition of this work contains only an account of my journey in Asia; and as I was not able to superintend personally the printing of it, a number of mistakes in the events narrated, as well as in the geographical names, have crept in. The present English edition contains besides the travels in Asia, accounts of my wanderings in Africa; and is likewise throughout corrected and improved.

After having ceased for a time my wanderings and researches for the purpose of publishing this work, I intend again to resume them. — In a short time I shall with God's help undertake a second journey to the East, for which I am furnished with a number of important instructions for my researches from esteemed persons, and hope after the completion of my journey to be able to furnish a more exact and valuable work.

Hannover, May 1859.

Israel Joseph Benjamin.

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INTRODUCTION

TO BENJAMIN'S ACCOUNT OF „EIGHT YEARS IN ASIA AND AFRICA.“

Pedro Teixeira.

By

Dr. M. Kayserling.¹

An unsettled and wandering life has been the appointed lot of the Jews for thousands of years, as in their early state, so too in later years, after disappearing from the list of nations, this unhappy people, accustomed to expulsion and exile, led a nomadic life and wandered from place to place and from country to country, dependent on the policy and caprice of various Governors and Princes.

This unsettled, wandering life, which increased the sufferings of these despised outcasts, did not further the cause either of science or literature. How can he who is driven forth as an exile, have an eye for any spot but that on which he can rest his weary foot? How can the wanderer, fleeing from danger, seek on his long and weary journey any other place than that which protects him from his pursuers? — Those, who reflect on this, have no right to wonder, after all the journeys and wanderings, which the

¹ This sketch has been published at the wish, and for the benefit of Mr. Benjamin. As an addition to the history and geography of the Jews, may it find a friendly reception.

Jews more than all nations have been forced to undertake, that the science of geography should have been so little benefitted. Talents and powers of observation were certainly not wanting to the travellers, but they were so entirely taken up by themselves and their own fate, that they cared but little for that which surrounded them.

It was in Spain that the history of Jewish travel like every thing else was early encouraged.

It is more than a mere metaphor to designate the Peninsula of Hesperia as the seat of the best informed and most learned Jews of the middle ages. Besides the profoundest study of the Talmud, philosophy, medicine, natural history and astrology were also cultivated and fostered by them; and it is from the Spanish Jews, that we have the first accounts of their travels.

Benjamin de Tudela, the well known Jewish traveller, was the first to direct his attention to his exiled brethren, and the incidents and results of his journey are related in that celebrated and valuable work, which bears his name, and has secured for him an undying reputation.

From Spain, his native country, *Charisi* began his wanderings. Having travelled through Spain and Provence, he visited Alexandria, and took up his residence in the Holy City, in that land, glorious on account of the sacred places it contains; from thence he proceeded to Persia, and through Greece returned to his own land.

The Jew, *Parchi*, was also a native of Spain. He journeyed through Egypt; and it is to him we are indebted for the accurate knowledge we possess of the condition of Palestine in his time.

The Jews of the Peninsula were learned men; and altho' the greater number of them had long been oppressed and insulted, yet for centuries they had been respected for their scientific acquirements. Not only did they serve kings and rulers as ministers of finance and treasurers, as taxcollectors and stewards, — not only did they entertain lords and ladies in courts and in palaces with their songs

and poetry, but they were also the teachers of kings and princes, yes, they — the Jews — were the guardians and propagators of knowledge in a Christian land.

When the Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator, celebrated alike for his heroic conquests and his love for geography, turned his thoughts towards Africa, in order to discover the gold districts there, it was from the Jews that he obtained information concerning the places they had visited in their commercial journeys, and every Jewish traveller was sure to find an hospitable welcome at Algarve, the country seat of this studious prince. It would be worse than ingratitude if, in recalling to mind the earliest discoveries of the Portuguese, we did not also remember the Jews, — the important communications they made and the advice they tendered.

A long line of learned geographers sprang from the Portuguese nation; and the widely extended connections, which the new discoverers cemented with the people of Asia and Africa, could not but further the interests of science.

To the Portuguese, who have enriched the science of geography by their works, and who, on account of their travels, have been classed among the „travellers of the world“, belongs the name of *Pedro Teixeira*, — a man whose memory we wish to revive by this sketch, and whose discoveries and reflections, as far as they relate to the Jews and their antiquities, we wish once more in our time to bring before the world.

His name is well known in geographical literature.¹

Our *Pedro Teixeira*² belonged to one of those Portuguese Jewish families, who dared not openly avow their religion, or educate their children in the faith of their

¹ We will here only mention *Lewis Teixeira* who in 1598 (1602) wrote a „*nueva Geografia y Hydrografia del Orbe*“ A *Pedro Teixeira* travelled along the whole Spanisch coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and published a „*Descripcion de la costa de Espana*.“ He died in the 70th year of the 17th century.

² Not *Teireir*„, *Teirera*, *Texera*, as Wolff (according to Barrios) bibl.

fathers. Many a youth of this race has only on receiving the last blessing of his dying father been informed of his true descent, and of the religion, to which his parents, from their inmost conviction, had remained faithful, and for which their forefathers had endured tortures and martyrdoms of every description. This legacy of the heart, if we may thus express ourselves, was willingly received by many; and many only had the glimmering spark of love to Judaism rekindled in their hearts, when the time appeared drawing near when they would have to give an account to their maker of what they had done and left undone with regard to the guardianship of the legacy bequeathed to them, when they were about to rejoin in another world those whom they had fondly loved.

Thus it was with our Pedro Teixeira.

Although born of Jewish parents, who in all probability resided in Lisbon, he was yet not educated in the Jewish faith. Notwithstanding his submission to the will of the Almighty, which seemed to have been innate in him, and which may be traced in almost every leaf of his book of travels, — notwithstanding his indwelling conviction that everything that happened to or befel him and that everything he received and enjoyed, proceeded from the hand of his Creator — a conviction, which may be more than once traced in Teixeira — we still think that we are able to infer from his narrative, that during a great part of his life — during his travels — that preceded his arrival in Antwerp, he was a Christian, and even a devout Catholic.

hebr. III. 922, IV. 593 and Zunz in his excellent treatise „on the geographical literature of the Jews“ — in Asher's Edition of Benjamin of Tudela (Berlin 1840) II, 292, assert. — Many german-polish Jews often pronounce the syllable *ei* as *e*; and thus Spanish names like Teixeira, Morteira were read and written by them as Texera and Mortera. Besides this the aforesaid Barrios (*Triumpho del Governo Popular* 10, 17) calls him likewise Pedro Teyxeyra (*sic*). The learned Thomas de Pinedo, the editor and commentator of Stephanus Byzantinus, frequently mentions our traveller in his commentary.

It was at Antwerp, the oldest dutch settlement of the spanish-portuguese exiles, that Pedro took up his abode after the termination of his journey. There he published his valuable work on the origin and order of succession of the kings of Persia and Harmez; there he wrote his „Travels from India to Italy“; ¹ — and there, not at Verona,² most probably towards the middle of the 17th century he died in the Jewish faith, and was gathered to his fathers in a better world.

Without enlarging further on the above mentioned historical work of Teixeira, who, from his earliest youth, had devoted himself to the study of history, we will resume our notice for a time of the learned and celebrated traveller himself.

In September 1601 Pedro returned from his first long journey to the Philippine Isles, China and a portion of the New World, which had extended over a year and a half, and which he had undertaken, as he himself expressed, to pass his time in and become acquainted with new countries. After a residence of two years and a half in Lisbon, he started on a second journey of scientific research to India, Persia and other countries. Teixeira was admirably fitted for such an undertaking by his possessing the talent, not enjoyed by all travellers, of observing everything worthy of note, and intuitively understanding it. We will not here

¹ The title of his work, which is now before us, is: „*Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d'el Origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia y de Harmuz, y de un viage hecho por el mismo autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia etc.*“ Ambers Hieronymus Verdussen 1610.“

² The Spanish poet Daniel Levi de Barrios — about him and his poems more in our forthcoming work: „*Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*“ — mentions Verona as the place of his death; comp. *Relacion de los Poetas Espanoles*, 58: „*Pedro Teireira (Teixeira) . . . murio en Verona.*“ So likewise Wolff l. c. III, 922; Zunz l. c.; Steinschneider „*Jewish literature*“ (London 1857) 258. — Barrios, a reliable authority, as long as he confines himself to speaking of persons and events of his own time, was not well informed on this point; and the statement respecting it of the Portuguese Biographer Barbosa certainly deserves more credence. Barbosa remarks in his *Bibl. lusit.* (Lisboa 1747) III. 622: „*Vizitou Veneza, donde por terra veyo a Anveres e nesta cidade fez o seu domicilio até a morte.*“

endeavour to ascertain if it was the ancient Jewish spirit which incited him to consider the Jewish relics of olden times as worthy of notice, or if it was out of respect to the fathers of his race that his enquiring eye sought out those sacred places where the remains of those belonging to his tribe reposed. It is enough for our purpose to know that his simple unprejudiced view only bears the higher stamp of the superiority of his scientific acquirements and proves beyond doubt that Teixeira, in his travels and in his book, thought of Jewish antiquities and of the Jews themselves; and for this his brethren in the faith are bound to feel grateful to him. That this reliable Author, as Menassah ben Israel calls him,¹ gives his information from his own observation, and not from any descriptions made by the Jewish merchant of Tudela, scarcely needs mention. It is true that Benjamin's book of travels was in print in his time and had even passed through many editions. Yet without wishing to detract from Pedro's learning, we believe ourselves justified in asserting that to him Benjamin's writings would have been of little value, as he did not understand Hebrew: and the first translation of the former's work, by the learned Benedictine Arias Montano, was unlikely to have been in his possession.

With the sincerest regret that our Portuguese traveller does not speak more explicitly of those of his persuasion in Persia and India, we now take leave of him.²

Teixeira understood his task; and the able manner in which it has been accomplished has been fully acknowledged.

May the traveller of the 19th century likewise have cause to rejoice in the favour of his readers.

Berlin, June 2nd 1858.

Dr. M. Kayserling.

¹ *Spes Israelis* c. 26.

² Teixeira's notes of this journey, especially those relating to the monuments of the Jews, and his accounts of his brethren in the faith, we have added in their proper places to our work.— The course of his journey was from India to Europe, consequently in a contrary direction to our own; and therefore it is that we have chosen this method of arrangement.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from the Moldau. — Object of the journey. — Journal. — Tomb of the Rabbi Jacob bal Haturim. — Arrival at Jerusalem.

In Foltitscheny on the Moldau, where I reside, I formerly carried on an extensive trade in timber and other productions of the country. Being suddenly utterly ruined through the fault of my partners, I found myself compelled for my own sake, and more especially for that of my family, to enter on a new career under changed circumstances, and this was the ostensible cause of my wanderings in the East.

Added to these external circumstances there was a long and deeply cherished wish of my heart, a wish harbored from my earliest youth; and I determined therefore to make first a journey to those parts, where once my forefathers dwelt in the days of their glory and of their misfortune, and thus, as in a vision, seek the traces of what remained of the ten tribes of Israel.

I began my wanderings on the 5th of January 1845.

After having visited the principal towns of Austria whither private matters led me, and after having travelled thro' Hungary, Servia and Rumelia, where I spent a year, I arrived towards the end of July 1846 in Constantinople which so surprised me that I fancied myself in a new world.

It is not necessary for me to describe this town, the Dardanelles, the palace of the Sultan, and its many other remarkable sights as other travellers have sufficiently done so.

After I had looked round a couple of days in the town I was so charmed with everything that surrounded me, that I formed the resolution to go further east, to see the Holy Land and the cradle of the patriarchs. But my means would not allow it. I recollected that many of our great Talmudists were mechanics, for example — R. Isaac a blacksmith — Rabbi Jochanan a shoemaker, and that their following a trade was in no way derogatory to them. I accordingly resolved, tho' fully twenty years old, to study a profession. What this profession was and how I studied it I shall relate, at some future period in my biography.

I remained in Constantinople during the 7th month and had the opportunity of visiting the Portuguese Rabbis.

I frequented the Yeschivah where they study. — Now as I had principally studied the Talmud in my youth and had moreover forgotten little of it, I often discussed passages of it with them. I was very much respected by them and they urged me again to apply myself to the study of the Talmud. They offered me their friendship and promised to assist me in every possible manner. I however, informed them that my time for study was passed and that I had other plans in view. They recommended me to the Chacham Bashi, the Rabbi appointed by Government named Jacob Sakuti, I visited him and he received me in a very friendly manner. I conversed with him about an hour on Talmudic subjects which much pleased him. I became so intimate with him during this short time that he showed me his medal which he received as a present from the Sultan. He informed me likewise that his position gives him great influence. He took me into his College. He was not a very learned man, but well versed in the Kabballah, and so religious that he spent many days in fasting.

When I parted from him, he accompanied me a part of the way and invited me to visit him often.

In the month of March 1857 I thought it high time to continue my Journey and accordingly informed the above named Chacham Bashi of my intention. Before quitting the town I bade him and the other Chachamim farewell. He handed me a document signed by him and the Dayanim and having the Royal seal in order that I might be well received by all Portuguese Congregations I might visit. The document had the desired effect.

As my means were limited, I took passage in the middle of March, in a sailing vessel, for Tekerte on the sea of Marmora.

I suffered much on this journey from cold and storms. After a sixteen hours voyage we arrived in the harbour of Tekerte. Here there is a pretty large Jewish Congregation. We arrived a few days before the feast of Purim which fell on a Sunday and the President of the Congregation invited me to remain with them until the festival was over. I spent a few happy days among them but met with no truly learned men.

Five days afterwards I set sail for Gallipolis; on the way thither we were again troubled with cold and storm. After a two days' journey we arrived in the harbour on a Saturday afternoon.

I remained on board until Sunday morning when I visited the Chacham of the place who was an old, learned and very religious man.

The Congregation is in pretty good circumstances. After a few days' sojourn I set sail for Zenakolis. Again we had cold weather and a severe storm. Here I remained several days. — The Congregation is small, has no Chacham but merely a schochet and teacher.

While in Constantinople I made inquiries about the Sabbatai Zebe sect, and asked what had become of its founder and where he was buried, I was informed that he died in Zenakolis, that in his latter years he became a convert to the mussulman faith and was buried in the Turkish Cemetery.

I visited it, but found no trace of the grave. I asked the Jewish Chacham of the place to tell me the whole truth of the matter, he answered me that according to report he was buried in the Turkish Cemetery but that his grave disappeared a few days after his burial and no traces have remained. I suspect this was an artifice of the Turkish priests. They may have feared that the deceased might at a later period have been too much revered and that a new Turkish sect might have sprung from him. They therefore destroyed all traces of his grave.

After remaining here a few days, I set sail for Smyrna.

After a few hours travel we found ourselves in the Mediterranean. We were in great danger, for our ship was a small sailing ship and the sea was very stormy.

It is true that the Captain who was a Turk, knew very well how to steer the ship, but all his efforts were in vain and every moment we thought ourselves lost.

Finally he ran into a bay which was very calm. A number of old ships without sails lay there. We cast anchor. Towards evening the Captain lowered all the small boats and placed a strong guard of armed sailors. We soon learned that the neighborhood was a very unsafe one, that it had formerly been a great nest of pirates, and that all the dismantled ships which we saw had been plundered and robbed.

On the morrow we saw a town in the vicinity of the Bay named Phuza, thither we repaired.

I went into a Coffee House and to my surprise found that the landlord was a countryman of mine, a Moldavian Christian. We each greatly rejoiced at again hearing the sweet sounds of our mother tongue.

My host warned me not to visit the city alone, for it is mostly inhabited by Greeks and is very unsafe.

He accompanied me several hours in order to show me the city and its vicinity.

The city is surrounded by high mountains, has beautiful buildings and magnificent gardens.

On the mountains numerous vines have been planted

and they constitute the chief support of the inhabitants. The grapes are not used to make wine but raisins. They have no seeds, are very sweet, and very small, they are called Rismitz in Turkish and are sent in large quantities to all parts.

Fishing is likewise carried on here.

We remained there several days until we found that the wind began to abate when we set out for Smyrna in whose harbour we arrived after 36 hours journey. I went into a Turkish Fundah, lodging house, and was introduced on the second day, which happened to be the eve of Passover to Chacham Rabbi Jacob Melamih the son of Rabbi Chaim. He was not only a well educated but likewise a wealthy man and carried on a large business in drugs.

On the first eve of the Festival as is customary among the Jews the whole service was conducted in Hebrew, the table was handsomely decorated and the whole family, the ladies included, were present.

On the second evening the whole ceremony was performed in Spanish and on that occasion the ladies sang some heart stirring melodies.

I enjoyed myself very much and felt as if transported to a new world, for hitherto I had not seen any thing of the kind.

I was the more surprised as in my country it was considered sinful for ladies to sing in the presence of men, as a sweet melodious voice might awaken sinful thoughts, whereas here the singing of the ladies on festive occasions is considered as necessary to lead the soul to pious contemplation; which view may be the correct one, I will not take upon myself to decide.

On the second day of the Festival I requested my landlord to make me acquainted with the greatest Chachamim of the place. He did so.

We went first to Rabbi Segura, the Chacham Bashi of the place and its suburbs.

He is a learned man and great Kabbalist. The people

call him Chased on account of his piety. While I was yet there he resigned and went to Jerusalem where he wished to die. We then visited his successor Rabbi Eleasar, a silver headed old man of 70 and whose personal appearance interested me very much: it appeared like that of an angel. He is a learned man, good Talmudist and Kabbalist.

His son a young man of great parts, is called Chacham Bechor Rabbi Eleasar, and at the end of my visit invited me to visit him.

He intended shortly afterwards to visit Jerusalem with his wife, to reside there and asked me to write for him an amulet in order that he might make the sea voyage safely; as he had never been at sea, he was a little afraid. I replied, that I was unacquainted with kabbalistic subjects and that I therefore could not write the amulet. He however begged to differ from me as he believed I had given evidence of kabbalistic knowledge in my previous conversation with him.

I explained to him how he came to this opinion, I had namely in former years belonged to a set of Chasidim, which is known under the name of Chabad.

This sect merely study the philosophical Kabbala, not the mystic. As however I devoted myself a long time to the former, I had some knowledge of the latter, but that after I commenced my business, I was obliged to give up study. He entreated me at least to put my hands over his head and bless him. I was not a little perplexed and told him so.

We next went to Rabbi David Chasan who had many adherents and played an important part. He had also been a candidate for the vacant situation of Rabbi Segurah. We then went to Rabbi Chaim Pelazzi, renowned, for having written 68 works which corresponds numerically with the Hebrew word Chaim. Many of his manuscripts were lost thro' the fire in Smyrna. When I visited him he was out, which surprised me much because the Chachamim generally stay at home on Festivals to receive visits.

Upon my inquiry where he was, I was told he was in his College. I found him and his son there, deeply engaged in study, however he received me very friendly. I said to him that it was not a day for study, but for feasting and rejoicing, whereupon he answered me that his study was concerning a very urgent case which suffered no delay, namely: A man of business who had to get a great deal of money from some of his debtors and who was sure to lose a large amount, if he were to delay making out the accounts, and since it is not allowed to do business on a Sabbath or holyday, he came to the Rabbi to ask his advice. And this was the object that occupied him and his son. I told him that the case in question required no great study and researches, but he could find an affair of the same nature explained in the second part of the Noyda Bihuda where it is distinctly stated that: where large amounts being at stake, and to delay was to lose, there it is by all means permitted to settle the accounts on a Sabbath or holyday. He gave me answer that he lost the above mentioned book through a fire that once broke out in his place. He asked me to taste something in his house, and regaled me with raisins; I not wishing to disturb any longer went back home. Two days later, he and his two sons came to visit me, which greatly surprised me, knowing that I was there but a mere stranger. He informed me that having really found in the Noyda Bihuda the decision as I stated, he acted accordingly. Since that time I enjoyed at my hotel great respect and reverence. The landlord, his wife and children came to kiss my hands, a sign of respect generally paid to a great Chacham, which they believed me to be. The same Rabbi reported me as a great chacham in that city, for he mentioned my name in connection with the above named circumstance and expressed his opinion that I knew the whole law by heart. But that is not the case. I on a previous occasion accidentally hit upon the passage, and it was therefore familiar to me. In the course of conversation with my landlord he asked me where I wished to travel

and what my object might be. I replied I was about travelling to Palestine and other places in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of all that appertains to the Jews and their history. Further that I wished to visit the graves of the patriarchs, prophets and great Rabbis, he thereupon informed me that the town Sakis was only a few hours voyage by sea and one of our greatest Rabbis Jacob bal Haturim lies buried there. I immediately resolved to visit his grave. When the holydays were over I took leave of the first mentioned old Chacham Rabbi Elyeser (surnamed Jeshua Abraham Jehuda). He shewed me more respect and reverence than on the former occasion, having invited me to sit down near him on the divan thereupon he ordered coffee to be served and an Nargillan (a turkish pipe smoked thro' water). He told me, he wished to ask a favor of me, and I told him I should have the greatest pleasure to serve him. He then informed me that it did not look well for a young man to give a benediction to one old enough to be his father. I however added: this can only be done according to the saying of the Thalmud: Thou must not despise the blessing of an ordinary individual.

But he insisted that I should put my hand on his head. I did so on condition that he too should give me his blessing to which he consented.

He then sent for his above mentioned son that he likewise should receive my blessing. He requested me to make a memorandum of the same and added himself a few words which I have preserved. I went home to prepare for my journey to Sacchis. As I was a Prussian subject I went to the General Consul Spiegelthal to inform him of my departure. He dissuaded me from my intended journey, as it was accompanied with great danger. I replied, I must make the journey as it was essential to my literary pursuits. He promised to do all in his power for my safety. My means being very scanty I was obliged to embark on a turkish sailing vessel. After a voyage of 12 hours we safely arrived at Sakis. This town is about an hour's walk from the wharf,

and contains about 50,000 inhabitants. The town is divided into 2 parts, one of which is surrounded by a wall. The greatest part of the inhabitants are Greeks. In the other part live Turks and Israelites. There is a great deal of business done there.

A great many splendid gardens are to be found there; in most of which oranges, lemons and pineapples grow in great plenty, so that they sent away daily ships loaded with all sorts of fruit to Constantinople, whence they sent them farther-on.

I went to the Jewish quarter and asked for the Chacham, but was told, that there was but one man performing all the duties of Chacham, Chasan, teacher and Shocher. I acquainted him with the object of my travels and requested him to lend me some assistance in my historical inquiries and collections, which he kindly promised to do. He took me to the synagogue, a building, which is in sinking condition, from old age.

I was astonished to see a great number of „Eternal lamps“ (Ner thamid) hanging on the four walls of the synagogue. Upon my inquiring after the signification of these lamps I was told they were burning for the salvation of the soul of Rabbi Jacob baal-Haturim. I further observed that the congregation was too small to afford the expenses — but they answered me that in several towns in the vicinity collections are being raised for that purpose and they generally send one of their congregation to collect the money and thus they are able to defray all the expenses for the oil.

The synagogue is a lofty building.

Hereupon I requested him to accompany me to the grave of the renowned Rabbi, who died here. The Jewish burying ground lies about an hours distance from the town in an open locality without walls.

There is here a small house in which the man lives who watches the dead.

I was taken to a place where I was shown two old tomb stones. Beneath one of them lies the above renowned

Rabbi, under the other one of his pupils who accompanied him on his travels. The inscriptions on the tomb stones were so disfigured that it was impossible to decipher them. I had therefore to rely on the traditions. But these contradict other traditions according to which the former died and was buried in Spain. In the book *Abne Zikkorön* it is related that he was buried near his father in Toledo. Other traditions as that of the Seder Haddoroth and Schem Hoggedolen, assert that he died while making a pilgrimage to Palestine, a day's distance from Smyrna, but according to them Sakis is not his burial place, but Kiwa. This grave is visited by many pilgrims, some of whom come from great distances and it is very much respected by the Musselmen. I thereupon returned to Smyrna and continued my journey.

Having returned to Smyrna I resumed my journey on horseback, in company with some Turks, and arrived at Menessia fifteen hours' journey north of Smyrna. It was owing to my European dress and the assistance I received from the European Consuls residing at Smyrna, that I did not, during my journey suffer that molestation to which travellers are repeatedly exposed on account of the hostile feelings of the natives towards Europeans to whom they cannot be brought to pay respect.

Six hours' distance southeast of Menessia lies the town of Casiba, the principal source of whose commerce consists in cotton and raisins. These rich productions are cultivated to a great extent, and exported by Jewish merchants to Constantinople and other parts.

After travelling three consecutive days through a smiling landscape, studded with olive trees, and enlivened by cheerful villages, the inhabitants of which employ themselves in the preparation and sale of olive oil, I reached a town called Tirje. In three days and a half more, after passing through a long row of luxurious vegetable gardens and vineyards, intermixed with fig trees picturesquely scattered, I came to the sea-port of Couschadassi, lying to the northeast

of Tirje. It carries on but a small trade. — Here, as in all the other places above mentioned, reside Jews.

Upon an island lies Stankoy,¹ for which place I embarked from Couschadassi, and got there in about 18 hours. The town is surrounded by beautiful gardens, planted with orange und lemon trees, the fruit of which is sold in Turkey and elsewhere. Fifteen hours further on, at the bottom of a high mountain, lies the town and harbour of Sima.² The lower part of the town is washed by the sea, and the other part is built on the ascent of the mountain, and here the European Consuls reside. — The vicinity is rocky, and is not built over; there is also a scarcity of spring water in the town. The inhabitants carry on a trade in sponge and fish; of the latter there is an abundant supply, and not an inconsiderable quantity of salted fish is exported to distant parts.

I left Sima in a small coasting vessel, and, after a voyage of 36 hours, reached the celebrated town of Rhodes,³ situated on the island of the same name. Rhodes is well known to all my Readers as having been very famous in the most remote antiquity.

Rhodes, an antique and farfamed fortress, carries on a large trade. The population is much mixed; Christians, Turks, Armenians, Jews and Greeks alike dwell there. The Consuls of the European powers occupy a certain quarter, which is surrounded by a fortified wall. The Jews in the Turkish quarter live together in families, and Christians are forbidden to enter this part of the town at night. After staying several days in Rhodes, I embarked for Alexandria, for the purpose of proceeding thence to Cairo.

¹ Twenty hours by sea, to the north of Couschadassi.

² Benjamin of Tudela (A. Asher's edition, Berlin and London 1840, A. Asher) speaks (p. 25) likewise of Sima, where he found 300 Jews.

Translator's note. By an hour's journey is intended to be signified a distance of 3 miles or thereabouts. We state this once for all.

³ Benjamin de Tudela p. 25.

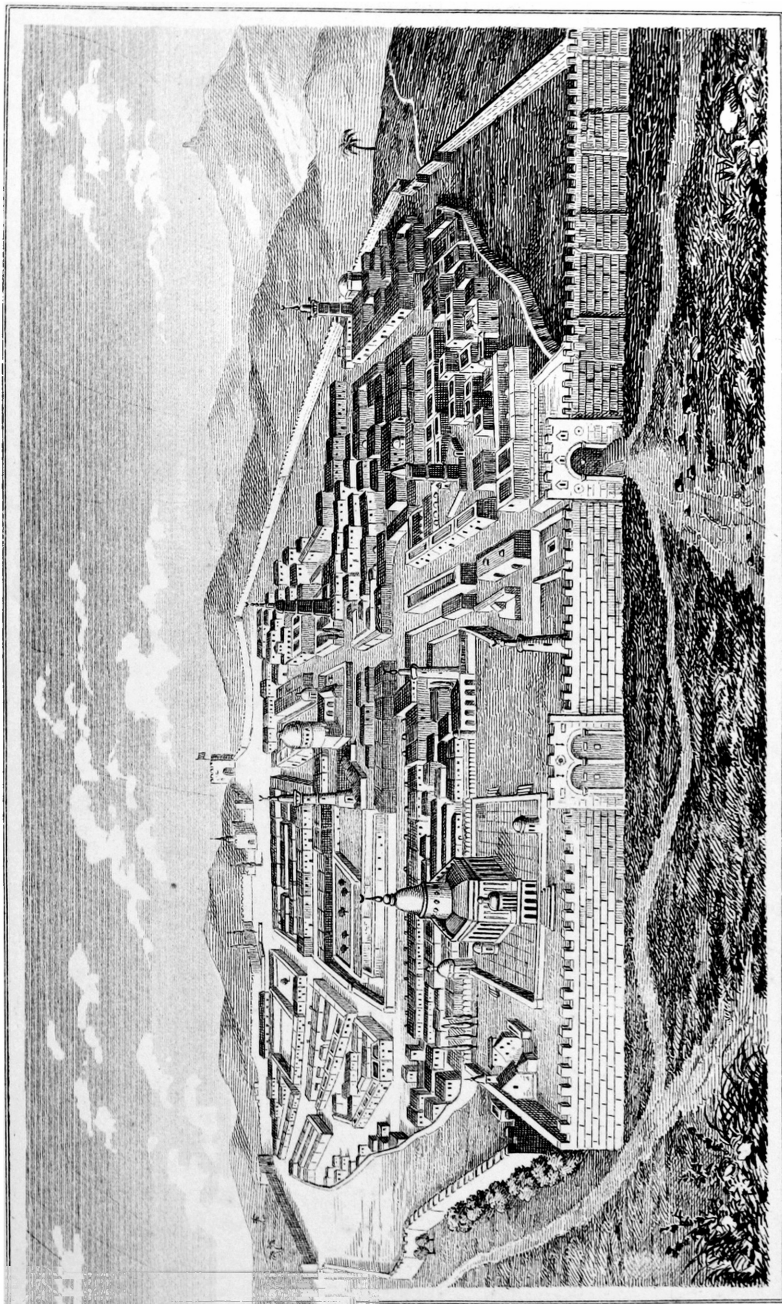
My journey through Egypt I shall annex to the narrative of my journey in Africa, and will only confine myself to the remark that I travelled by sea from Damietta to Jaffa (the ancient Joppa of the Hebrews), and thence proceeded towards Jerusalem.

On the 7th June 1847 I arrived at Alexandria, where I remained several days. From thence I travelled to Cairo, from which place I proceeded by the Nile to Damietta, which I reached on the 20th July. After a sojourn of a few days, I embarked for Jaffa; where I had to keep quarantine 10 days. The distance from Jaffa to Jerusalem is a journey of only 12 hours. The journey over Lud I performed on a Camel. As in my youth I read much in the Talmud concerning the merchants of Lud, I was very curious to visit it, but to my surprise found it a small village. On Friday, August 14th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, Rosh Hodesh Elul 5607, while sitting on the camel, I saw a city before me, asked the macher (camel driver) what city that was before us. He replied Kodesh (Jerusalem). I felt as if thunder-struck, fell off from the camel, my eyes became suffused with tears, I was carried back to former times, when that city existed in all its beauty and splendör. As these and many other thoughts passed thro' my brain, I composed the following poem which I here give for the benefit of my Readers:

ירושלים

תמונה

עיר



Lith. v. K&S. Salomon & Luder in Hannover.

JERUSALEM.

ירושלים כלילת חוד פאר כל הארץ
 שמש צדקתך קרנים לתבל שְׁלַחָה
 רום ירך באלילים פָּרִץ פָּרִץ
 אך את לבני אדם הָיִית בְּרָבָה.
 לָךְ ירושלים אייליל בקול מָרָה
 ברוכ פֶּשַׁע עָמִי הִיָּה לך נָנַע
 גֹּזֶר נפל וחפארחך סָרָה
 יד אכזר נתנך לקלון ופגע.
 ועתָה בשומי כף רגלי על אדמתך
 סביב בת עיני יקוּ המים
 פֶּאֶרֶךְ וגדלך, ועניך וצרתך
 בכל תקפם וגבורתם בפני השמים
 נראו לעיני ולבי ישתוּחַח
 ירחי קדם אזכור ורוחי חִפְּלָה
 מִצּוֹק העת הזאת אראה וכמכירה אתיפח
 יד אל עשתה זאת ואני מה אשׁוּחַח
 נפש כלנו חקו כי עודך תהי לתהלה
 בֹּרֵאךְ יבנה חומתיך ויקבץ לתוכך בניך

*A poem composed in the Arabic by Rabbi Nathan Gian,
Chacham of Algiers.*

שיר בלעריבי של הח"ר נתן ג'יין יסדו על עיר קדשנו ותפ"א יתו"בב

נוור אלבארי ואשאנו " פי ערשך דאייאמאן יעלא מן טאל זמאנו ..
חתא יאזי אזאמאן " יכנו סירי מפאנו " בדהבי ולייאמאן
אלביבאן אלעאג' יבא " ישעלו פי אדאלאם יעלא חרמי ואשאנו
פי-מדינת אסאלאם :

תחמל ג' יוש עדימא בקודרת אלג' אליל ולי צאבך גנימא " ימדה
אנהאר וליל " יא ג'נאחי אנאעימא " כל מא נודף קאליל "
תדיי ביה אתרייא ושמש ולקמר יתוואלם :

נתעג' ב פי תאמארך " בלפוכראן וצאליב " המלו וידאן סאג' ארך
בשוהרי ולחאליב " ואמעדן מן חיג' ארך יחד מן הוא
טאליב " נשבר ואריקו ינשף ויפזנאע אלכלאם : יעלא .

יא ג'נת חייתי בך יגפר אדנוב " פי הנין מן ווקאחי מן דון ריום
אשהור " ואנה עלה מקאמי כלפרח וצרור " הג' את נארי עליהא
מן פרכת אריקב " חסרא עלה וואטני לקודש ולכאליל :

הא נשחחי נזורך ביה פנת עראתי " דאיים קלפי מהני מן לפדר
הורתי " לאם ישחחיו מפאני לעדה פי גייבתי " אמשאו וסארו
ליהא ונציה לרב אלג' אליל : חסרא עלה

דאיים קלבי יקולי באצח לא תאייסי " לילי נומי מחייר ונפיק מן
נעאסי " ונחלם בך ליאללי מן כותרת ופשוואסי " סארו
וראהו ליהא וקנעו בלקליל : הסרא עלה .

מן חסנקיא מליחא זארוך-חרזה לעדה " ועאדולי אנציהא לער בני
אבדה " ומחבתי צחיהא ואלו אנא הכדא " נאדם עלה לפעייל
מהושי מן קליל : חסר'א עלה .

אוסט אדונייה נזולך יא לאלרו למדון " ומעאג' בין תמארך פיד
נדרת לעיון " ולכיר למן כחארו ופרג' מן למדון " פי
צאחרה נכפי עליהא ונכבי אלכאפא : חסרא עלה ווטאני
לקודש ולכאליל :

CHAPTER II.

Jerusalem.¹

View of the City. — Its foundation. — Gates. — Ruins of the Temple. — Tradition of the Sultan Soliman. — Grotto of King Hiskia.

ירושלים.

„מה טובו אוהליך יעקב, משכנותיך ישראל!“

זכרון המילים האלו פעם את לבי עת צעדו רגלי על אדמת ירושלים. את העיר רכתי כגוים, בנויה לתלפיות בהוד והדר בימי קדם, עיני תראינה הפעם! למחזה העיר הזאת כהעלות על זכרוני תפארת מפעלות בני עמי בימים עברו עת ישבו פה על גפי מרומי ההצלחה בעוז ותעצומות, אז יסער לבי בקרבי ברגשות נעימות לזכר ימים חלפו, ובעצובה נוראה מדיבת נפש ממראה עיני מעת החיה, וגם בתקות טובות לימים יוצרו. הנה תעוררנה את רוחי בתשואות תודות, ובאלצן את נפשי אז פלגי מים תרד עיני אפיל על אפי, ואנשק מנשיקות פי את אדמת ציון כלילת יופי! לך יהמה לבי ארון הצבאות בהודות והלל על כי הגדלת הסרך עמדי, היית מחסה לי בתוהו ילל ישימון, ובימין ישעך תמכתני כלכתי בערבות אויה ושממות אפריקא, פרשת עלי כנפי טוכך בעברי ארחות ימים בין גלים הומים ומשכרי צלמות, עד כי הביאותני מעון ביתך, מקום משכן כבודך, זה הר ציון אשר אז כוננו ידיך! הה איכבה יהמו יחמרו סרעפי בקרבי בהציגי כף רגלי על אדמת קדשך ירושלים עיר הקודש!

¹ The Arabians and Turks call Jerusalem „Kodesch“, the Chaldeans and Persians „Beth-el-Mickdasch“.

כשחר פרוש על ההרים, פרושה נגד עיני העיר הקדושה
 והנשגבה, העיר אשר שמעה הולך בכל המדינות,
 העיר אשר עוד כחלום חזיון ימי נעורי רהפה בהלך
 רוחי בכל המון נעימות צלם דמות תכניתה פאשר היתה
 בשלות ימיה, בעוד סוד אלוה עלי אהליה, דבירה ופאר
 חצרותיה! העל אשר מימי ילדותי בקראי זכר קדשה
 בספרי קדשנו, כמה לה נפשי ולבי כלשון צחה צמא
 תערוג אל פלגי מים! מה נפלאה, מה עמקה מפלתך
 הבת ציון, את אהובת שוכן שחקים, את עטרת הערים,
 שרתי בנזים! הה איך כתומם באי עליך כל אשר הגידו
 מראש חזוי עליון, דבר אחר מדבריהם לא נעדר! אם
 אשכחך ירושלים, תשכח ימיני, תדבק לשוני לחכי אם
 לא אזכרכי אם לא אעלה את ירושלים על ראש שמחתי.

„How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!“¹ With these words I entered Jerusalem. With these words in my mind I set foot upon the sacred soil of Jerusalem. As it lay there before me, that once mighty and majestic City! The sight overpowered me; and, at the remembrance of all the great and noble deeds of those days, when my people, the elect of the Lord, dwelt there in all the fullness of their might and power, — feelings of the purest pride and joy for the past, of the deepest sorrow for the present, and the brightest and most confiding hope for the future, passed through my heart, and awakened in me the warmest gratitude. Tears filled my eyes, and I prostrated myself and pressed my lips to the sacred soil of Zion, in acknowledgment of the mercy which the Lord God of Sabaoth had shown me: for He it was who had guarded me in the trackless wilderness, and with His right hand had guided me through the deserts of Asia and Africa, and

¹ Numbers. c. XXIV. 5. (The quotations are always after the hebrew bible.) This is taken from the morning prayers. It was so expressive of our feelings that we used it.

over the waves of the mighty ocean unto His own dwelling place, unto the seat of His glory, where He reigns supreme, and is worshipped in the holiness of His power; where His sanctuary extends its splendor far over the universe in the eternal glory of the Holy Faith. — With what veneration did I fall down and pray on entering thy gates, O Jerusalem!

There thou art, before my eyes, thou holy city, whose name fills the universe, — thou who, in the dreams of my youth, as I perused the holy Scriptures, wert ever hovering before my mind's eye in all the brightness of prosperity and glory. How deep, how great is thy fall, thou beloved city of the Eternal One, — thou City of Cities, — thou Queen of Nations! — With what fearful accuracy have the prophecies and denunciations of thy Prophets been fulfilled on thee! „If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning; if I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy!“¹

The foundation of Jerusalem is assigned to Shem the son of Noah,² who began to build the walls of the city. Its earliest name was Salem,³ but after Abraham had shown himself willing to sacrifice his son Isaac, in accordance with command of God, he called the place „Yirre“, whence originated the name Jerusalem.⁴ — For such a length of time was this city the residence of princes! — Five and twenty years after the liberation of the Israelites from the Egyptian captivity, the city was governed by King Jebus, the successor of Abimelech, who completed the walls, and erected a fortress, which he called Jebus.⁵ It was not until the reign of David how ever, who came with an army against

¹ Psalm CXXXVII. 5. 6.

² Seder Hadoroth. Fol 12, p. 2.

³ Genesis c. XIV. 8.

⁴ Midrasch Raba c. 56.

⁵ Judges c. XIX. 10 11. — Seder Hadoroth Fol. 9. p. 26. — Joshua c. XV. 8.

Jerusalem and the Jebusites, that the Jews succeeded in gaining possession of this stronghold.¹ The building of the Temple, which lasted 7 years, was commenced by Solomon, 480 years after the exit of the Children of Israel from the land of Egypt.²

The destruction of the Temple, the fate of the Jews after their first dispersion, the rebuilding and destruction of the second Temple, as well as the last and entire dispersion of the Children of Israel, are too well known to require that I should dwell longer on the relation of them. I will only mention one fact; — namely, that several monarchs and one caliph have made the attempt to raise the Temple from its ruins but could not succeed. The saying of the Royal Psalmist is verified: „Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman keepeth watch in vain.“³

The Antiquities of Jerusalem are also well known; to the gates of the city however I will allude briefly. Jerusalem has six gates,⁴ — five of which are open, and one close. They are called thus: 1) towards the east, the Gate of Lions; so called from the images engraven on the wall; its arabic name is Bab-el-Schebat. 2) To the north, the Gate of Sichem; in arabic called Bab-el-Amoud. 3) Between these two is the gate which is closed. 4) to the West, the Gate of Hebron, now called the Gate of Joffa; in arabic Bab-el-Chalil. 5) To the south the Gate of Zion; in arabic, Aab-el-Dahoud (the Gate of David). And lastly 6) on the same side the smallest of all, Bab-el-Maghra-bim (Gate of the Arabs); because the Arabs who come from the West, from Morocco &c. enter here, and dwell in the adjacent streets.

¹ II. Chronicles c. V. 6. 7.

² I. Kings c. V. 1.

³ Psalm. CXXVII. 1.

⁴ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 36. mentions only four gates, to some of which he gives other names. Of these gates we shall speak more lengthely in the course of our narrative.

With respect to the ancient buildings of the Holy City I will only repeat the words of the celebrated and learned Munk of Paris, who said: „There is not a stone in Jerusalem which is not known, has not been described, and has not deserved it.“

The Seder Hadoroth informs us that the celebrated scholar Rabbi Jehuda Halevy, author of the book „Cusri“, in his 50th year, somewhere about the year 4920, undertook a journey to Jerusalem, and in deep sorrow prostrated himself to kiss each stone. In pious enthusiasm he gave utterance to a song of lamentation, which commenced with the word „Zion“. It is to be found in the 31st Chap., and is up to the present time sung by the Jews adopting the german ritual, on the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem. — A fanatic Arab, who saw and heard the pious Rabbi, rode upon him in a rage, and the inspired singer perished under the hoofs of his horse. What an effect the mere sound of that word has upon my mind I cannot find word to describe.

The Temple.

I begin the description of my pious pilgrimage through the Holy City with the venerable ruins of the Temple, which have defied the ravages thousands of years, and are therefore certainly entitled to the first place in our notice.

Two days after my arrival, I visited my wife's grand father David, who gave me a very hospitable reception, I spent some time with him very agreeably. He is highly esteemed for his learning and thro' him I soon became known. On the 4th of Elul a resident of the place offered to accompany thro' the town to point out to me the different relics of antiquity. He first took me thro' the different streets of Jerusalem, then to the bazaar, from thence we went into a street where he showed me a monument said

to have been erected by Queen Helene. Thence we went westward, passed several very dirty arabic houses, where there was a pavement about 10 feet broad and 30 long. I gazed around, began suddenly to tremble from head to foot and my eyes were suffused with tears. Noticing my emotion he asked me if I was unwell. I replied no.

On beholding an old wall of eight rows of stone, I asking him if that were not the Kothol maarove (the western wall). In reply to his question how I knew it, I told him my feelings told me:

כּוֹתֵל מַעֲרָבִי

(The western wall.)

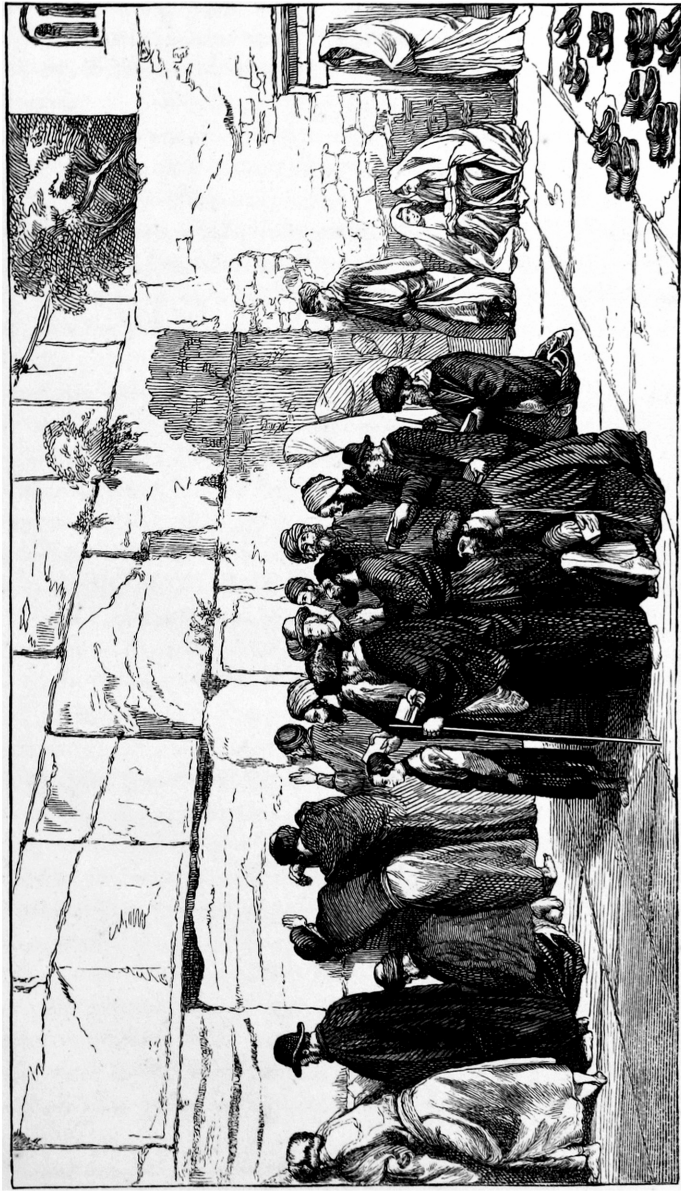
אִם לֵב אָבֵן לָכֶּה בֶּן-עֶבֶר
עָלִי קִיר זֶה שִׁים נָא עֵינֶיךָ
אָבֵן מִקִּיר זֶה הַזֶּעֶק שׁוֹר וְשָׁבֵר
וּבְדוֹנָג מִפְּנֵי אֵשׁ יָמָס לָכֶּה

מִמִּקְדָּשׁ אֵל חוֹמָה זֹו נִשְׁאַרָה
בֶּנֶד נִצְבָה לְמִזְבֵּחַ עוֹלָמִים
מִיד אוֹיֵב וְשֵׁן הֵיעַת בֶּל נִגְזָרָה
מֵאַבְנֵיהָ תַּחֲצוֹב קוֹרוֹת שָׁגִים וַיָּמָס

גַּם אֶתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקִיר זֶה הִנֵּה
לְפָלִיטַת-עוֹלָם בְּלֹאֻמִּים נִשְׁאַרָת
בְּהִמִּיר אֶרֶץ וְגוֹיִם בֶּל יִפְחַד לָכֶּה
כִּי יֵשׁ אֵל שׁוֹפֵט תָּבֵל, לְעַד נִבְחָרָת!

כוחל מערבי

אל המקום הזה יבאו היהודים ככל ערכי שבחות ור"ח וי"ט להחפלא ולשפך שיחם לפני ד'



Typ. WILH. RIEMSCHEIDER. HANNOVER.

He then narrated to me the following traditions.

A tradition, universally known to those of my faith who dwell here, deserves however to be mentioned beforehand.

Among those monarchs who attempted the rebuilding of the Temple was Sultan Soliman,¹ who governed Jerusalem in 5280 (1520 years after Christ). — He erected the walls of the town, built aqueducts, and took up his residence in a building situated to the south of the Temple, which even to this day bears the name of „Medrass Salomo“ (scientific building of Solomon). At a later period Soliman inhabited a building to the west of the Temple, in which afterwards the Turks held their courts of justice. At that time a mound of rubbish and manure covered the site of the Temple and the ruins of the Sanctuary. One day, so tradition relates, the Sultan remarked an aged woman clothed in rags, wearily dragging up a sack full of rubbish, and emptying it on the mound beside the palace. The Sultan, very angry, gave orders that the old woman should be seized and brought before him. She came, and appeared tired and exhausted. After Soliman had asked her where she came from, and to what people she belonged, he desired to know why she had emptied the sack on that place. Trembling, the old woman replied: „Do not be angry, mighty King, I never in any way thought to offend thee by observing an ancient custom of my people. Since the taking of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperor Titus, they have never been able to destroy entirely the walls of the Temple. The priests and the sooth-sayers of Rome therefore ordered that all the inhabitants of the city should daily carry a sack full of rubbish to this place; a command which even the inhabitants of the surrounding country must obey. Those who live near are obliged to perform it twice a week, and those at a greater distance must do it twice a month. The place where so many Romans fell, will, by

¹ Son of Salim I., also called Sliman Aben Olim; he reigned 46 years.

these means, be hidden for ever. Be not therefore angry, my Lord, with thy servant, who only obeys the law!" How often has vain weak conceited self opinionated man attempted to thwart the designs of Providence, but how futile his attempts.

Soliman however caused the old woman to be cast into prison, and in order to ascertain the truth, caused sentinels to be stationed around the place, with orders to arrest all persons who should attempt to empty rubbish on the mound. The statement of the old woman was verified; and Soliman was seized with a desire to know what was concealed beneath the mound, and began to dig, at the same time calling on all who were in his service to follow his example. Men and women of every class came in crowds, and began to clear away the rubbish. For 30 days thousands of persons were occupied in this labour; and daily the Sultan caused money to be secretly thrown among the the rubbish in order to stimulate zeal. At last the ruins of the Temple were discovered; and a long wall was brought to light, which may be seen to this day, and which bears the name of „Cothel Maaravi“,¹ the west wall of the Temple. This circumstance was afterwards related to me by so many different persons and with so much earnestness that I was inclined to believe. During the clearing of the place many of those arrived who brought sacks and baskets of rubbish, but they were seized and thrown into prison

¹ Benjamin de Tudela mentions these walls; but as he visited these places in the 12th Century, this account of the throwing of rubbish must certainly have taken place during the three following centuries, otherwise the whole story would not be correct. Benjamin of Tudela says that in this wall is situated the gate *Schaare Rachmim* (Gate of Mercy), at which the Jews used to offer up their prayers. Rabbi Pethachia of Regensburg, who, according to Ritter in his *Erdkunde* (Vol. 4, p. 1417) followed Benjamin de Tudela only two years later, speaks, in the account of his travels (Lublin edition with latin translation, p. 198. 199) likewise of the Gate of Mercy, which however lies opposite to the western wall, towards the side of the mount of Olives. The latter assertion is the right one.

with the others. On the completion of the work Soliman had the prisoners brought before him, and, in order to punish them for their desecration of the Temple, he took by lot 30 men and 8 women, and hanged them upon the wall; at the same time forbidding any one from polluting the place for the future, and threatening each future offender with a similar punishment.

After this the Sultan summoned the Jews before him, and addressed them in the following consolatory words: This was a rare instance of clemency as the Jews in these parts do not often enjoy such favors: „Acting on an inspiration from above I have done what you have seen. Through me shall the Temple rise again in fresh splendor, for I also am called Soliman, like the first founder of this Sanctuary. But as this place is your property, it is for you to complete and restore the building, for which purpose I offer you the means.“ — On hearing these words the unhappy Jews wept and remained silent. — But Soliman asked: „Why weep ye? — Rejoice rather, for your God has not forgotten you.“ — On this an old man approached the Sultan and said: „May thy life be long spared upon the earth, O gracious Sultan. We will praise the Almighty for having given to thee such benevolent thoughts, and the wish to restore to us our Temple, our only glory and pride. But according to the Scriptures, we are forbidden to erect the Temple ourselves; God alone can do this.“¹

„What! ye will not build up the Temple again!“ cried the Sultan: when Solomon, in his prayer of the consecration of the sanctuary said: „Moreover concerning a stranger, who is not of Thy people Israel, but cometh out of a far country for Thy name's sake. For they shall hear of Thy

¹ The last words of the old man refer to the Song of Solomon c. 11, 7. — Midrasch Rabba. Fol. 11, p. 1. According to my view one sees in Talmud Jeruschalmi, Messechet Maassir Scheni chap. 5, v. 2. that the third Temple shall be built as the second was; and that the monarchs favorable to the Jewish nation, shall erect this Temple.

great name, and of Thy strong hand, and of Thy stretched out arm, when he shall come and pray toward this house. Hear Thou in Heaven Thy dwelling place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to Thee for!"¹ — I myself will rebuild the Temple of the Lord, and to Him alone shall it be dedicated."

Soliman caused the plan of the first Temple to be given to him, in order that he might erect the third in accordance with it: his undertaking however remained unaccomplished. Under his reign the Jews enjoyed the same privileges that the professors of other creeds enjoyed, and lived happily.

I have thought the above tradition worth relating only because it shows how much faith and hope for a brighter future still animate the hearts of my people.²

On the east side of Jerusalem, opposite the side of the Mount of Olives, lies the site of the Temple, to the south-east of the present town.

To the north and the west are those large buildings, which touch the western wall (Cothel Maaravi), and surround the site on all sides. The Jews of Jerusalem perform their evening prayers near this spot each Friday afternoon and on the eves of their high festivals; but no one dares to tread on the inner part, which is carefully guarded by the Turks. On the site of the Holy of Holies stands a splendid building erected by Solomon, dedicated to the religious solemnities of the Mussulman. It is said that there is here to be found a cave the contents of which are however unknown to this day. The Jews assert that the sacred coffer of relics is concealed here.³ The first Turkish rulers wished to have it examined; but when persons sent for that purpose attempted to enter, they were struck dead; and so all further researches ceased.

¹ I Kings. c. VIII. 41—43.

² This tradition I likewise found in „Chibath Jerusalem“ (which appeared in 5604 in Jerusalem); probably likewise related as tradition.

³ Messechet Juma p. 54.

The Medrass of Solomon, a building erected by that king, is the spot, where, according to tradition, the Jews established the Sanhedrin (or high Court of Justice). To this place there are two entrances; one to the north, the other to the west; the southern side is distinguished by numerous windows. The way from this building to the Temple is through a cluster of trees, surrounded by a moat. The Arabians tread this path with bare feet; as they consider the soil sacred. This custom of walking barefoot by the Arabs on what they consider sacred soil, is borrowed from those passages in the Bible; and to this spot they bring their dead previous to burial in order to protect them from the judgments of God. — To the west of the Temple is a trench, which is called by the Arabians Bir-el-dam (or trench of blood; they believe that in that trench was poured the blood of the burnt offerings. Tradition relates that near this trench, Nebusaradan, a captain of Nebuchadnezzar, caused many Jewish children, mothers and priest to be massacred, in order to avenge the innocent blood of Zachariah, son of the Priest Jehoiadah.

Outside the city, but still within the walls surrounding it, is a cave, excavated by command of King Hezekiah. It is related that Zedekiah, the last King of Judah, escaped through it, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Chaldeans. This tradition may or may not be true. We live at too great a distance from those times to ascertain such things with accuracy. This cave is near the gate Babel-Amoud, and, according to the assertion of some Jews it is large enough to contain a man on horseback. They say also that in it is a square room hewn out of stone, which was intended for a Synagogue; and that in the wall of this room is embedded a written roll of the Pentateuch; all search is strictly forbidden. Through a cleft in the rock, which time had caused, I could perceive something of the interior of this cave.

At the foot of the Mount of Olives, opposite to the

Temple, is said to be the tomb, surrounded by a wall, of Mary, the Mother of Christ.

In the city of Jerusalem is the Sepulchre of Christ;¹ to which a great multitude of Christian pilgrims from all nations of the world resort. At Easter particularly the streets of the city are thronged with wayfarers. — As an especial sign of the intolerance of the 19th century, I will only mention that no Jew, at the peril of his life, dare venture to tread the pathways leading to the Church of the Sepulchre.

Every Friday forenoon at 11 o'clock, the Sheik with several of his officers, proceeds, amid chanting of prayers, from the Mosque of Zion through the city to the site of the Temple, where he performs divine service, which lasts an hour; during this time the several gates of Jerusalem are strictly closed.

Jerusalem, once so flourishing and prosperous, afterwards demolished and desolate, is now inhabited by people of all climes. In my last chapter on Palestine I shall speak of them more in detail.

We hope however that as all the words of the Lord to Solomon and the Prophets have been fulfilled, so, one day the prophecies of Isaiah (c. 11, 2) concerning Jerusalem and her future destiny may likewise be accomplished. We are here forcibly reminded of a passage in the Talmud², which relates that two Rabbis after the destruction of Jerusalem were walking where the Temple had stood, when from the ruins a jackal which was started by hearing footsteps came forth. One of the Rabbis commenced crying and the other laughed.

Why dost thou cry asked the one, why laughest thou enquired the other. Why shall I not weep, replied the former, when I see Idolaters worshipping there images living in prosperity and peace and the Temple of our God is in

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 35, mentions this tomb.

² See Trac. Macoth p. 24. 25.

ruins; Jackals taking up their abode there. For that very reason do I laugh, replied the other, for if you examine carefully all the prophecies, you will find that they abound with the prediction of calamities to be followed by a glorious future. If the former had not been realised I should have doubted the latter but now that we see that God has fulfilled the first part, we are sure he will likewise carry into effect the other. The weeping Rabbi was consoled.

Writing about the ruins of Jerusalem and the Temple I can't forbear appending here the following splendid Poem written by my friend Mr. Henry Vidaver (ח"ג ווידאווער) (הלווי)

חרבות ירושלים

1.

„אין קול אין קשׁב אײַך הײַ דממת מױת
אין פֿל אױרױך אין מסלה רק שײַד-קברות
תועים אַנחנוּ בעירנו הנאַהבת
עיר ההללה עיר רבת-אוֹצרות
תמול עוד מלאת-אדם היתה עיר נושבת
ועתה אַהה בְּכָל עֵכָר נִרְאָה אַךְ זֵרוֹת
אַךְ בְּלֵהוֹת בְּכָל פְּנֵה-וְהִיא נִחְרַבֶּת!“
כֹּה נִדְּבְרוּ יַחַד הָרַעִים הַשָּׁנִים
עַת לַחֲזוֹת בָּאוּ חֲרֻבוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם

2.

וַיְהוֹשֻׁעַ עָקִיבָא הוֹלֵכִי תָמִים
שׁוֹד אֶרֶץ מוֹלִדָתָם עֵינֵימוּ רָאוּ
עִם אוֹיְבֵי צִיּוֹן גַּם הִמָּה גִלְחָמִים
וּמִים עֲזִים גַּם עַד נִפְשָׁם בָּאוּ

נִפְשָׁם לַמּוֹת הָעֵרּוּ לַיְלֹוֹת וַיָּמִים
 וּבִשְׂדֵה-קָרֵב עֲקֹבוֹתֵימוֹ נֹדְעוּ
 אָבֵן "אֵין עוֹז" אָמַר אֶל שׁוֹפֵט רָמִים
 וְלִשְׂוֹא דָרְכוֹ חֵץ גְּבוּרָתָם נֶאֱלָחָה
 שׁוֹא יַעֲצוּ יַעֲצָה חֲכָמָתָם נִסְרָחָה

3.

רַבִּים מֵאֲנָשֵׁי חֵיל אֲזָרוּ כַח
 וַיָּכּוּ בִשְׁוֹנֵאֵיהֶם מִכָּה עֲצוּמָה
 אָבֵל גַּם הֵם לִשְׁחַת הָיוּ מִלְּקֹחַ
 בְּרִכּוֹת חֵיל אוֹיֵב וּבְרִכּוֹת הַמְּהוּמָה
 וּרַבִּים בְּרֹאוֹת אֵידִם חָשׂוּ לְבְרוּחַ
 לְמַעַן יִשְׁמְרוּ נִפְשָׁם מִשְׁקָץ וְטוֹמְאָה
 לְמַעַן אֶל אֲבוֹתָם כָּל יִזְנְחוּ וְנָוָה
 גַּם יְרוֹשָׁע וַרְעוּ הָיוּ בְּגוֹלִים
 וַעֲתָה לְרֹאוֹת הַחֲרִכּוֹת יוֹרְדִים וְעוֹלִים

4.-

כִּי אֶהְבֵּת אֶרְצָם בְּלִבָּם כְּאֵשׁ כְּעָרָה
 אֶף אִם בְּאֶדְמַת נֶכֶר רִגְלָם נִידָדָת
 אֶף אִם רְכוּשׁ אָבְדוּ וְאַחֲזוּתָם נִעְדָּרָה
 עֵינֵם בְּכָל זֹאת נִשְׁוֹאָה לְאַרְץ מוֹלָדָת
 אֶל כֹּה גֹזֵר וּבֵת-צִיּוֹן נִגְזָרָה
 גַּם עִיר גַּם מְקֻדָּשׁ הָיוּ לְאֵשׁ יוֹקֶדֶת
 אָכֵן עוֹד הָאֶדְמָה עוֹד הִיא נִשְׁאָרָה
 וְלַחֲבֵק עֲפָרוֹת צִיּוֹן הֵם תֹּאכְבוּ
 וְלַעִיר יְרוּשָׁלַיִם הָרַעִים שָׁבוּ

5.

אֵין קֶצֶה לַעֲמֹלָם בְּכוֹאֵם הָעִירָה
 עַת אֵלֶּה הַשְּׁמֹמֹת עֵינָם רֵאֲתָה
 מִשְׁטַח — חֲרָמִים הִיא הָעִיר הָאֲדִירָה
 וְאֵין אוֹת מִגְּאוּנָה־מִּכָּל צָבִי חֲמֻדָּתָה
 צָרַת אֲרָצָם רִגְשׁוֹת רוּחָם הָעִירָה
 וְלִמְקוֹר דְּמָעוֹת בָּבֶת עֵינָם הִיָּתָה
 וְהַלֹּךְ וּמִתְתַּעַ הָלְכוּ בְּשֹׁה פוֹזָרָה
 עֲדֵי נִפְשָׁם נִהְלָאָה וּרְגֵלָם בְּצִקָּה
 וּמִצּוֹם וְצִמָּא לְשׁוֹנָם לְחִיד דְּבִקָּה

6.

מַלְכַת עַמְדוֹ, רִגְלִימוֹ נִגְפוֹ
 בְּרִפְיָמוֹ מִצּוֹם אֶדְ גְּדוֹ גַּם נָעוּ
 עָלֵי אֶבֶן רוּמָם יִשְׁכּוּ וְרֹאשָׁם חָפוּ
 וּסְבִיבָם לְרֹאוֹת עֵינֵימוֹ נָשְׂאוּ
 אֹז, וְחֲרָבוֹת הַמִּקְדָּשׁ אֲלֵיהֶם נִבְסָפוּ
 נִגְדַּ פְּנֵימוֹ הַבִּיטוּ גַם רָאוּ
 וְלִפְסָם חָלַל בְּקִרְבָּם — וַיִּתְּעַלְפוּ!
 אַחֵר — פָּקְחוּ עֵין לַחֲזוֹת עוֹד רַק פַּעַם
 עֲפָרוֹת קִדְשׁ אֵלֶּה שׁוֹמְמוֹת שׁוֹר וּזְעַם

7.

מַחֲיִים עָתָה רַק מִיַּת בְּחָרוּ
 לְגֹזַע אֵל יַחַד עָלֵי זֹאת הָאֲדָמָה
 סְבִיבָם, דְּמוּ, אֲרָאִלִּים שֶׁעַר שְׁעָרוֹ
 וּמִלְּאֲבֵי שְׂדֵי מֵר יִבְכּוּן שָׁמָּה.

„פה נִחֶזֶה קִצְנו“! בְּלֵב אָמְרוּ
 „וּנִפְשָׁנוּ עוֹז תִּדְרוֹךְ בַּחֲבִינֵי רָמָה
 „אִם עֲצֻמוֹתֵנוּ בִּקְבֵר זֶה נִקְבְּרוּ“
 בַּה אֵלֶּה הָרָעִים בְּרוּחָם מִלְלוּ
 וְלִרְאוֹת הַמָּוֶת יַחַד יִחְלוּ

8.

הַיּוֹם לַעֲרוֹב רָפָה, וְנָסוּ הַצִּלָּלִים
 וְהָרָעִים עוֹד שׁוֹכְבִּים בֵּין חֲרֻבוֹת נָשִׂיָּה
 פֶּתְאוּם, וּבִמְקוֹם הַהֵיכָל, שׁוֹעָלִים
 מִהָר רָצִים וְשׁוֹכִים עֵינָם צוֹפִיָּה
 חֲזוֹת זֹאת מֵאֵד הַפְּחִידָה הָאוֹמְלָלִים
 וְעַל רִגְלָם קָמוּ מִהָר עַד אֲרִגְיָעָה
 בְּקוֹם מְבוֹר תַּחֲתִיּוֹת מֵתִים וַחֲלָלִים
 יְהוֹשֻׁעַ חָרַד וְקוֹל שֹׁכֵר הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְרָעוּ חֵישׁ עוֹז לָבֶשׂ וְקוֹל גִּיל הָרִיעַ

9.

מַעֲי רִתְחוּ וְלֹא דָמוּ — יְהוֹשֻׁעַ קָרָא
 חֲזוֹת נוֹרָאָה זֹאת לַחֲזוֹת בַּעֲיֵינֵינוּ
 רֵאֶה נָא אֵיךְ תִּמְלֵא כּוֹס שׁוֹד וְצָרָה
 בְּדַבְּרֵי אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים בְּיַד גְּבִיאֵינוּ
 רֵאֶה נָא אֵיךְ אַחַת מִהָאֱלֹלוֹת כֹּל נַעֲדָרָה
 רֵאֶה! כֹּל דְּבָרֵינוּ בָּאוּ עָלֵינוּ
 הֵה! אֵין עוֹז לְצִיּוֹן תּוֹחֲלָתָהּ נִגְזְרָה!
 לְבִי נִמַּג וְלֶךְ רַע מָה נִהְיָתָה
 כִּי עוֹז תִּלְבֹּשׁ בַּעַת אוֹפֵל וּבַעֲתָה?!

10.

אָז עָנְהוּ עֲקִיבָא הַקְּשִׁיבָה רַע!
 הַחֲזוֹת רְאִיתִי נִפְשֵׁי תַשְׁמַח
 דְּבָרֵי אֱלֹהִים נֶאֱמָנִים הֵם, לִי תִבִּיעַ
 וּדְבָרוֹ לְנֶצַח בֶּל יִשְׁכַּח
 לָכֵן גַּם חֲסֵדוֹ עֲדִינוּ יִגִּיעַ
 וְהִצָּרָה אֵךְ תַּחֲלוּף כָּצֵל בּוֹרַח
 כִּי כָּכָה שָׂרִי בְיַד חֲזוֹנִים הוֹדִיעַ
 כִּי עוֹד עוֹז נִדְרוֹךְ וְצָרָנוּ נִנְגַח
 וְאִם בְּדָבָרוֹ עוֹן בָּנוּ הִפְגִיעַ
 חֲסֵדוֹ שְׂכָעָתִים אֵךְ יִצְמַח
 כִּי אֵל רַגַע יִיסַר רַגַע בַּחֲיִים
 וְחֲסֵדוֹ לֹא יִתֵּם עַד בְּלִיתִי שָׁמַיִם!

11.

„צָדִיקָה יְהוֹשֵׁעַ, אֲנִי דִבַּרְתִּי
 בְּלִבִּי מִכְאוֹב וּבְעֲצָמוֹתַי רָצַח
 לָכֵן פָּרַגַע בָּח בֶּל עֲצָרְתִּי
 אֲבָל צָדִיקָה חֲסֵדִי אֵל הֵם לְנֶצַח
 לָכֵן קוּם! בְּדָבָר אֵל נִדְרוֹשׁ מְנוּחַ
 בַּחֲסֵדִיו נִכְטַח וּבָם נַחֲלִיף בָּח“

CHAPTER III.

Z i o n.

On Mount Zion stands an ancient building, under which is to be found the entrance to a cave, which is said to extend to the interior of the City of Jerusalem, where a large stone denotes the place of egress. The cave is said to contain the tombs of several Kings of the house of David. In the building above the cave the Mahomedan pilgrims perform their devotions. Sometimes permission is also given to the Jews to pray at the spot, supposed to contain the remains of their departed kings; for this permission they pay the tribute of 1 piastre.

Among other fables it is said that there is a communication between the cave that leads from Macpelah to the tombs of David, and to corroborate this it is related that a cat jumped in the cave of the Kings of Judah and the very same identical cat came out from the cave of Macpelah. This we regard as a convincing proof that the two caves join.

It is related that in the year 4915 (1155)¹ a Bishop endeavoured to remove stones from this sacred place, in order with them to repair a delapidated church.

One day two of the hired labourers did not come to work at the appointed time; and the overseer ordered them to make good the time they had lost by working during their leisure hours. While digging, these two men discovered a large slab of marble, which, on account of its

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 38 und 39, relates this circumstance, with some trifling alterations.

weight, they could scarcely move from its place. But after much exertion they succeeded in doing so, and found under it the entrance to a large cave. Full of curiosity they wished to enter it, but were violently thrown to the ground by a strong gust of wind, and were found by their fellow workmen in a state of unconsciousness. The Bishop, to whom this event was immediately made known, caused the two men to be brought before him, and ascertained from them that they had perceived two tables of gold, upon which a crown, sceptre, sword and other insignia of royalty were displayed, but that they had not been able to penetrate into the cave itself, having sunk down unconscious at the entrance of it. The Bishop hearing this, ordered the cave to be walled up again. — The Josiphun, which Israelites ascribe to Flavius Josephus, asserts that Solomon concealed his treasures there, John. Hyrcanus and Herod the Great took possession of the tombs of the Kings of Judah, and appropriated a large portion of the treasures buried in the same, to their own use.

The Jews at first used to deposit their money in the Temple for safety, but when in consequence of the frequent inroads upon the Temple they carried their wealth and hid it in the tombs of the Kings. (Vide Dr. Raphall's History of the Jews.)

At the foot of Mount Zion lies a valley, whence there is an ascent to another mount, on which is to be seen a house hewn out of the rock. Over the entrance of it is an illegible inscription, which, according to the assertion of the Jews, contains the following words: „This building was erected in the reign of our King Solomon.“

Har Hassethim (the Mount of Olives) lies to the east of the town; from which it is separated by the valley of Jehoshophat. An extensive view is to be had from the top of this mountain; Jerusalem, the site of the Temple, the Jordan, the Dead Sea, the Mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, can all be seen from it. On the mountain itself is a small village, and about half an hour's journey, in a cave, is the

tomb of the Prophetess Huldah,¹ of whom mention is made in the Bible.²

Further down, towards the town, mid way up the mountain is another cave, consisting of several divisions, containing the tombs of the Prophets Haggai, Zachariah and Malachi, which are frequently visited by the Jews. At the base of the mountain is a Jewish cemetery, and here, according to tradition, is the tomb of Zachariah, son of the Priest Jehoiada,³ as well as the house Bethachaphschith, in which King Uzziah was confined when struck with leprosy.⁴

Chazzar Hamathara (the place of prison),⁵ lies to the north of the city; in it is a very deep dungeon, which can only be reached with much difficulty. Tradition asserts, Jeremiah was kept a prisoner in it by command of the King of Judah. The courtyard of the prison contains several small houses and rooms hewn out of stone, which were used as places of confinement. Several old buildings on this place are said, by the people dwelling there, to cover the tombs of the Prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah; of these however I could find no traces, altho' I made a very close and protracted search.

To the north of the city rises a grand cluster of rocks near a courtyard, to which the entrance is on the south side. Two trees spread their branches over it, one a date tree and the other a tree bearing a fruit which they call tuth. Here again is to be found an extensive cave divided into several compartments. On entering there is first a large room, which leads to two smaller ones; these again conduct

¹ The Talmud contradicts this assertion; for it mentions that she was buried near the walls of the town. Tosephta Baba chap. 1, and Messechet Simachot chap. 14. Altogether the writer himself believes that it requires much careful research to ascertain if *other graves* likewise are really in the places, where they are believed to be.

² II. Kings. c. XXII. 14. — II. Chronicles. c. XXXIV. 22.

³ II. Chronicles. c. XXIV. 20. 21.

⁴ II. Kings. c. XV. 5.

⁵ Jeremiah. c. XXXVIII. 13.



TOMB OF ZACHARIAH.

to a still larger apartment, followed again by two smaller ones. In a small room towards the north a tomb stone covers the place, where, according to tradition, rest the ashes of one of the richest men of Jerusalem, Calbe Schewua, who lived in the days of the second Temple. This personage is frequently alluded to in different parts of the Talmud to which we refer our Readers. Many wonders are said to have taken place here. — During my stay at Jerusalem in 1847 in the month of Ellul, the Pacha caused numerous excavations to be made, for the purpose of discovering a treasure which was supposed to be buried here. — On account of their extraordinary size, these rocky buildings especially attract the attention of travellers.

An hour's journey further on, to the north of the city, is another cave containing three separate adjoining rooms. In the first of these bubbles a spring of water, which is sometimes dried up. The second contains two tombs, and in the third is the tomb of Simon ha Zadik (the Just), the last member of the Kenesseth-Hagdolah (Great Assembly),¹ which was in the first place convoked by Esra. The two tombs in the second rooms are those of the sons of Simon. — Half an hour's journey distant from this spot is another cave divided into four compartments; of which one is to the right, an other to the left, and the remaining two are underground. Here are said to rest the remains of the celebrated men of the Sanhedrin.

Ramah. Two hours' journey to the north west of Jerusalem is a mountain, on which, in a grotto, is shewn the tomb of the Prophet Samuel,² and to the right of it is the tomb of his parents. If this really be the tomb of the Prophet Samuel with what reverence should it not be regarded! Descending the mountain you arrive at a smaller grotto, from which flows a murmuring stream; it is said that this was the bath of Hannah, the mother of Samuel. The Jews,

¹ Messechet Avoth. chap. i. — Mischna. 1

² I. Samuel. c. XXV. 1.

as well as other inhabitants of the country, make pilgrimages to this spot, which, in Arabic, is called Ziara; and they pay a piastre for permission to enter.

Two hours' journey to the south of Jerusalem, on the road towards Hebron, stands a small fortress called Barak; near the gate leading to it are three tanks for the reception and preservation of rain water. Near the fortress, beside a spring, stands a house, said to have been built by King Solomon. — A mile and a half further to the south¹ is the tomb of Rachel. Benjamin of Tudela² relates, that several monuments have been erected over this tomb; of which the first consisted of a dome, supported by eleven columns.³ Mahomet Pacha had another erected in the year 5385; and the present one is indebted to the munificence of Sir Moses Montefiore. The Jews often make pilgrimages to this tomb of their ancestress; and especially on the 15th of Cheswan (November), the anniversary of Rachel's death; do many go there to perform their devotions.

Two hours' journey from Hebron, (of Hebron we shall treat rather lengthily in the proper place on account of its great importance), lies the village Halhul, where are the tombs of the Prophets Nathan and Gad. This village bears to this day its ancient biblical name.⁴

Half an hour's journey from Hebron is shown the foundation of a house, in which it is said Abraham once dwelt. At the side of it is likewise shewn a spring, which is called Sarah's Well, and is supposed to have been the bath of Sarah; many Jewesses, who were barren, bathe in these waters, which are said to possess the wonderful power to

¹ Genesis. c. XLVIII. 7. XXXV. 19.

² Benjamin of Tudela p. 40.

³ Rabbi Pethachia (p. 196) likewise speaks of the tomb of Rachel, which is formed of eleven stones, according to the eleven tribes. *Adiit porro sepulchrum Rachelis in Ephrata, quae dimidii diei itinere Hierosolymis distat, illis monumento undecim lapides impositi sunt, secundum numerum undecim Tribunum etc.*

⁴ Joshua. c. XV. 58.



TOMB OF RACHEL.

make pregnant. I was told by my friend in Hebron, that his own wife had been barren and became enceinte thro' bathing in these waters.¹ It was told me, that the Arabs in the neighbourhood, a few years since, hewed down the tree,² under which Abraham sat when the angels appeared to him.³

CHAPTER IV.

Hebron (called by the Arabs Chalil).

Foundation of the town. — Grotto and tombs of the Patriarchs. — Three other grottoes.

Hebron, formerly called Kiriath Arba,⁴ was, at the time of the conquest of the promised land by Joshua, the capital of a small kingdom.⁵ Tradition asserts, a family of giants dwelt there, consisting of four persons: a father and three sons. The ruler of the country called himself Arba.⁶ The Talmud (Eruben p. 53) explains the name of Kiriath Arba by stating that four couples were buried there; viz. Adam

¹ Benjamin de Tudela (p. 42): In his time a house stood there of which however now only the foundations of the walls are to be seen. — He speaks likewise of a spring, but does not mention its name. — Rabbi Pethachia (p. 199) who also mentions this spring, calls it by the above name.

² Rabbi Pethachia (p. 199) speaks of this tree.

³ Genesis. c. XVIII. 4.

⁴ Judges. c. I. 10.

⁵ Joshua. c. X. 111.

⁶ Joshua. c. XIV. 15, according to Abarbanel's explanation.

and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah, for the Hebrew word „*Arba*“ signifies „*four*“.

The Seder Hadoroth (p. 11) informs us that Hebron was founded at the time of the dispersion of men namely at the building of the tower of Babel. The Bible likewise, assigns the foundation of the city to the most remote period.¹ It stood formerly upon a hill, upon the tops of which travellers to this day can find ruins.² The newly built city is raised around the cave, called by the Arabs Halil Machpelo, which is situated in the street called Rachman. The Bible mentions that Hebron was formerly surrounded by vineyards; and to this day there are still many to be seen there; for the neighbouring Arabs devote much attention to the cultivation of the vine.

Above the cave stands a magnificent building, the first stone of which, according to tradition, was laid by King Solomon himself. Esther, Queen of Persia, is said to have restored this building; and the Empress Helena is reported to have ornamented it and embellished it in the state in which it is found at the present day. — For its especial preservation the cave is again surrounded by a wall. Within it are two Mosques; of which the one over the grave of Abraham bears the name of *St. Abraham*; and the other over the grave of Jacob, the name of *St. Jacob*. The permission to visit these Mosques, which are held in the highest veneration by the Turks, is given to no unbeliever.³ In the year 1833 however a Jewish merchant from Russia, named Schemerl Lorje, succeeded, by means of great presents to the Scheik, in obtaining leave to visit the Mosque over the grotto, in the latter half of the night. According to his assertion, the interior is decorated with the greatest splendor and illuminated by innumerable lights, which are reflected

¹ Numbers. c. XIII. 22.

² Benjamin de Tudela (p. 40) likewise mentions these ruins.

³ Near the entrance to the Mosque of St. Abraham a particular place is set apart, where Jews and Christians are allowed to perform their devotions.

—

with magic brilliancy in the gold and silver ornaments. Through two windows in the floor of the Mosque you look down into the grotto. At break of day the visitor, notwithstanding his being disguised as a Turkish Priest, was obliged thro' fear of being recognised to withdraw.¹

Under the grave of Isaac there is no Mosque — three times an attempt was made to build a Mosque over it, but it did not succeed as each time before its completion the building caved in.

The Arabs call Isaac Geburah which means intolerant alluding to his not allowing a Mosque to be built over his grave.

Benjamin of Tudela in the Sulzbacher edition of 5543 page 7 gives the following.

This cave consists of three smaller ones the one lying with the other.

In the first cave there are six graves and these which the Mahomedans represent as the graves of the patriarchs and their wives, are shown to foreigners for a fee.

If a Jew comes and gives the porter a gold piece, he gives him a candle, an old iron door is opened thro which he is led first into a second empty cave, then into a third.

In the latter are the graves of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca and Leah.

On each grave the name of the occupant is placed.

Rabbi Pethachia relates that he gave the porter of the cave of Macpelah a piece of gold to show him the graves of the patriarchs.²

¹ Rabbi Pethachia (p. 197. 198) mentions this cave; he gained access to it.

² In the London Times April 26. 62 a report is given of the Prince of Wales visit to the cave of Macpelah. It runs thus:

We ascended some steps whose number indicate that the Mosque lies above the cave and when we entered the precincts of the Mosque one of the porters, a descendant of one of Mohammeds comrades in arms, received us courteously altho' his attendants bitterly sighed as often as we went from one consecrated place to another,

The Jews of Aka had previously cautioned him not to allow himself to be deceived and to suffer three Moham-medan graves in the first mentioned cave to be palmed off upon him as those of the patriarchs.

On giving the porter another piece of gold he received a candle and was led down fifteen steps.

He then entered a spacious cave in the midst of which there was an aperture to descend but enclosed by a rail.

- In the cave beneath this lie the patriarchs.

Outside the city, in the direction of Jerusalem, are three wells; which, according to the Bible, were dug by Abraham. On leaving the Sepulchre of the Patriarchs, and proceeding on the road leading to the Jewish quarter, to the left of the courtyard, is seen a Turkish dwelling house, by the side of which is a small grotto, to which there is a descent of several steps. This is the tomb of Abner, generalissimo of King Saul.¹ It is held in great esteem by the Arabs, and

We went barefoot thro' an open court into the Moschee which was of the Byzantine School of architecture. In the interior of the outward column are the two first graves — to the right the grave of Abraham, to the left the grave of Sarah, both locked with gold gates. The report then goes on to say. In the interior of the Moschee we were shown in the same manner the graves of Isaac and Rebecca.

These latter are by themselves and have iron instead of silver gates.

It then goes on to say:

When we wished to visit the grave of Isaac, we were dissuaded from doing so on account of the difference of character of the two Patriarchs. Abraham, said they, is goodness itself — he even spoken against the decision of God with regard to the wicked people of Sodom and Gomorrah. Isaac on the contrary is very suspicious and it is dangerous to provoke him. Again further.

The graves of Jacob and Leah are sunk as low as those of Abraham and Sarah, but in a separate place opposite the entrance of the Moschee.

According to the above mentioned accounts of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Pethachiah we infer that the Prince of Wales was deceived, for it appears that the graves pointed out to him were not those of the Patriarchs, but those which Benjamin Tudela describes.

¹ II. Samuel. c. III. 32; c. IV. 1.

the proprietor takes care that it is always kept in the best order. He requires from those who visit it a small fee.

Outside the city, towards the south, in a vineyard, which was purchased by the Jews, are the graves of the father of King David and of the first Judge, Othniel, the son of Kinaz.

There are two Congregations in Hebron, a Polish Congregation calling themselves Chassidim Chabad, and a Portuguese Congregation, and each has its own Synagogue.

The Portuguese Rabbi of Hebron is named Rabbi Chaim Chaikel, a great Talmudist and Cabbalist. He is very religious and has two wives.

Traditions of the Jews of Hebron.

When the Jews first took up their abode in Hebron, they were few in number, they did not even count ten persons, the amount necessary according to Jewish custom to perform public worship. For the deficit they depended upon strangers and pilgrims who came on Holidays and festivals among them to perform their devotions. On one occasion on the eve of the day of atonement no stranger had arrived, the inhabitants not numbering enough to form minyan were in the greatest anxiety. About sunset they perceived an old man descending the mountains and coming in the direction of the synagogue. Now as there were nine of them and this old man made the tenth person, they rejoiced exceedingly, prayed very devoutly during the whole day of atonement. They read the Pentateuch but did not call up the old man as is customary among Jews. On leaving the synagogue on going home to break their fast they wanted to invite the old gentleman to supper, but he disappeared. They made several searches but could not find the old gentleman. They felt very uneasy. At night the Chacham dreamt that he saw the old man who told them, he was father Abraham, that he perceived their deep sorrow in not having minyan and came to help them out of their trouble, but that as they had not had the good sense to call up him

up to the Pentateuch, he declined to take supper with them. If they had called him up, the Messiah would have come. From that time forward the Jews made it a custom to call up to the reading of the law every stranger, and father Abraham never again made his appearance. — The cave in the Maahrat Hamachpelah or the double cave where the Patriarchs are buried, no one is permitted to enter. In the mosque above this, where the mussulmen pray, there is on the floor a passage leading into the cave. Covered with iron rails and here many lights are placed. One day the Scheik was standing at the entrance of the cave playing with the ring on his finger, when it fell off. He ordered a mussulman to descend to bring it up. The messenger immediately died. A second and third were sent, but met the same fate. The Cadis decided that nobody but a Jew could succeed in getting up the ring. The Scheik accordingly sent to the Jews ordering them to send somebody to bring up his ring. The Jews likewise were afraid and cast lots, so that the person on whom the lot fell would have to descend. It fell on an old man. He asked for three days grace to prepare as if for death. He said his prayers, fasted, made his will, went into a bath, and put on white deathlike clothes. He descended, picked up the ring, took up the three corpses, came out safely, but what he saw he never devulged and it is not known even to this day. From that time no one has entered the cave.

The Jews live in a separate quarter, shut out from other parts. It consists of two gates, one towards the mountain and the other leading into the street in the middle of the town. In the door leading to the street I one day observed a round hole. On inquiring the object of this hole, I was informed that the Sheik of the place had once given orders that the Jews should by a certain time bring him a certain amount in money and all in one particular coin. It is well known that the Jews in Palestine are very poor. Notwithstanding this however the Sheik was inexorable and threatened to exterminate them all, if at the appointed time the money was not forth

coming. The Jews proclaimed a three days fast for men, women and children. On the third evening the Shomas walking in the street came across a bag which sounded like money. He mentioned the fact to his correlative religionists who went out, picked it up and found it to contain the exact amount required. On the following day they went to the Sheik, handed him the amount. Astonished that the Jews could raise so large an amount and all in one coin — he was willing to impose fresh hardships upon them. — They told him the whole truth, but he would not believe them. He then said, I will test what you say. If in my presence the bag will disappear in a miraculous manner, I will believe your statement. I will put the money where you found it. And I will set my watchmen there to keep guard. He did so. — The bag suddenly disappeared. He was thereby convinced, having fallen asleep, when the money disappeared. He believed and gave the Jews freedom as long as he lived.

I collected many traditions similar to these from my brethren in the East, but at the time I heard them, I did not deem them of sufficient importance to note them down. This however I now sincerely regret, as they are well calculated to enlighten the world as to the mental condition of our brethren in the East. They are calculated in a more than an ordinary degree to bring before the view of the antiquarian and scientific, investigator sources of information which have not hitherto been laid before the reading public, but have been confined to the few learned men of all countries. We are of opinion that everything that is calculated to throw light upon the habits, manners, customs and mental peculiarities of the Jews in the Orient, cannot be too closely and carefully investigated tending as it does to give us clear and lucid ideas of many passages in the Bible, that would otherwise appear as a sealed book and be unintelligible to all. For ourselves and as far as we personally are concerned, we assert with gratitude to our Heavenly Father who guided our footsteps thro' trackless deserts and who watched over us innumerable times, when we were surrounded by no uncommon danger.

We repeat, we assert that since our travels in the East. We feel, we understand many passages in the Bible which in our youth were a source of great perplexity to us, as notwithstanding the most diligent research on our part we could not fathom their meaning. We confess with pleasure, that after we had lived in the oriental atmosphere of tradition, if we may be allowed thus figuratively to express ourselves, a new light began to dawn upon our minds and this light continued to increase in proportion to the length of our stay and the information we gathered. In consideration of these circumstances it is our intention and ardent desire to collect as many traditions as I possibly can and to place the tree of true knowledge and enlightenment before mankind generally that those who thirst after information may pluck of the fruit of the tree of life and quench the praiseworthy thirst of their souls. To effect this the cherished object of our heart we intend to undertake a second journey to the East and we humbly implore the disposer of human events to aid us in our humble efforts to spread the cause of truth and enlightenment among the whole family of man.

CHAPTER V.

Sichem. Samaria. Zephath. Miron.

An hour's journey to the east of Sichem¹ near the village Ablanuta, is the tomb of Joseph and of his two sons

¹ Abbé Bargés, Professor at the Sorbonne at Paris, who in the year 1853 visited the Holy Land, has given, in an episode of his journey, under the title of „*Les Samaritains de Naplouse*“ (Paris 1855), some very clever and clear accounts respecting the ancient city of Sichem, the Samaritans, their worship, and their language, — which are of the greatest value.

Ephraim and Manasseh.¹ The graves are in the field which Jacob bought of the King of Sichem, near which flows a spring called „Jacob“; by the Arabs also similarly named, Beeir Jacob (Jacob's Spring).²

Midrasch Rabba (book 1, chap. 100) relates that the children of Israel on their departure from Egypt took the mortal remains of the ancestors of their race in coffins with them; and, after the division of the promised land, by Joshua, buried each in that portion of land which fell to the lot of his posterity. The writer who has visited these places, is convinced that this tradition is founded on truth, and using the authority of Midrasch Rabba as a guide, he gives here the account of the tombs of the twelve Fathers of the Tribes, relying on the statement of Seder Olam Zuta (little Seder Olam) for their ages.

- 1) Reuben, lived 124 years, and was buried in Rumia on the further side of the Jordan.
- 2) Gad, 125 years; buried at the same place as Reuben.
- 3) Simeon, 120 years; his grave is in the village Manda.
- 4) Levi, 134 years; buried in the same place.
- 5) Judah, 129 years; buried in the village Babi near Bethlehem.
- 6) Isaschar, 122 years; lies buried at Sidon.
- 7) Zebulun, 124 years; lies there also.
- 8) Dan, 127 years; interred in the country of Astael.
- 9) Napthali, 132 years; interred in Kadesch-Napthali.
- 10) Asher, 126 years; rests in the land inherited by his posterity.
- 11) Joseph,³ 110 years; as above mentioned.
- 12) Benjamin, 111 years; in the neighbourhood of Zion (Jebussi, the ancient name for Zion); the exact spot unknown.

The order of the names here given does not agree with

¹ Joshua. c. XXIV 32.

² Compare Bargés „*Les Samaritains de Naplouse*“ p. 10. 11.

³ Genesis. c. L. 26.

the scripture account, but they are mentioned according to the order of their graves, of which some are to this day distinguished by monuments, which are held in high veneration by the Turks.

To the north of Sichem, about four hours' journey distant, lies the place Dothan,¹ and near it is a tank or cistern, in which, according to tradition, the sons of Jacob cast their brother Joseph.² This spot is called by the Arabs Gub Joseph; and opposite to it a Mosque and a Funduk (or inn) have been erected.

In Samaria, likewise called Sabdia, which, according to the saying of the people, is the once celebrated city Shomrom, are shewn, in different parts, the graves of several of the Kings of Israel.

A day and a half's journey from Sichem is the town of Tiberias, which by some of the Talmudists is called Rak-kath, by others Hammath (hot waters);³ in the Bible both names are to be found.⁴ — According to the Talmud the town was formerly a most important one.⁵ In the vicinity of Tiberias are numerous graves of Talmudists. — In the year 1837 Tiberias and Zephath were devastated by an earthquake; but the most dreadful misfortune happened to them on the 18th of Sivan 1834, which may in truth be designated a day of mourning in the history of Palestine.

The Druses of Lebanon invaded the city of Zephath and plundered it for the space of 33 days; the Synagogues were destroyed, and the Tables of the Law demolished. The words of the Prophet Jeremiah were fulfilled.⁶ The Jews fled for refuge to the mountains. — The inhabitants of Tiberias, fearing a similar fate, sent a deputation to the plun-

¹ Genesis. c. XXXVII. 17.

² Genesis. c. VXXVII. 24.

³ Messechet Megila. Fol. 5, p. 2; Fol. 8, p. 1.

⁴ Joshua. c. XIX. 35.

⁵ Messechet Barachot c. 1.

⁶ Jeremiah. c. XIV. 17.

derers, whose forbearance they purchased with a sum of money.

The earthquake of 1837 almost entirely destroyed Tiberias and Zephath. Many hundred Jews and a great number of Mahomedans perished by it; few only were able to flee for safety to the mountains, where they spent a night full of fear and horror, listening to the distant cries of pain and anguish of those who belonged to them, whom they were unable to assist. On the next day they ventured to the scene of misfortune, which presented a fearful aspect. Under the earth and ruins of the city lay the horribly mutilated bodies of their relations and friends; few only were extricated still living, and these were mostly so disfigured that they envied the fate of the dead. There was not a family that had not to deplore the loss of one of its members. But still no murmuring was to be heard; submissive and resigned to the dispensations of the Almighty, they exclaimed: „The Lord gave; the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord.“¹

Zephath lies at the foot of a mountain, and is now only a heap of ruins, from among which rise some houses and works of fortifications. At the base of the mountain is a large cave, called by the Arabs Maarath Jacob; where Jacob is said to have mourned for the loss of his son. To the south west of this mountain is another cave and a spring, which latter is called Volad Jacob (Jacob's children). In the vicinity are to be found the graves of several Talmudists; and in the burial place of the Jews, near the town, are shewn the tombs of the Prophet Hosea and of his father Beeri; both tombs are ornamented with a grave stone.

Two hours' journey from Zephath lies the village Mirom, and half an hour's journey further is to be seen an extensive courtyard surrounded by a wall, on which near a magnificent tree stands an ancient building. It contains one large chamber and two smaller ones, in one of which is the tomb

¹ Job c. I. 21.

of the celebrated Talmudist Rabbi Simon, son of Jochais¹ and the other that of his son, Rabbi Eleazar. Generally on the 18th of Ijar (May), a great solemnity, Lag Baomer, is observed there. Many thousands of Jewish pilgrims from Palestine, Syria, Persia, Africa, and other distant lands arrive several days before the festival and encamp in tents round about, while the Rabbis take possession of the tomb-house and the neighbouring buildings. Divine service, which begins in the night of the 17th—18th of Ijar, commences with the reading aloud of the work Sohar, which is said to be the production of Rabbi Simon. In the middle of the night they give utterance to their songs of praise and the rejoicing becomes so vehement that they even break out into dancing, which they continue until break of day. In every part of the court these ceremonies may be seen and heard, and they are repeated in the open air at the graves of the various Talmudists who are interred in the vicinity. The day appointed for this festival is the 18th of Ijar, the anniversary of the death of the Rabbi Simon. To add to the grandeur of the ceremony, an immense number of lambs are lighted, and for this purpose a colossal lamp has been put up in the first apartment of the house; this lamp is capable of containing about 100 measures of oil. The lighting of this lamp, which is called Hadlaka di Rabbi Simon, is considered a peculiar privilege, and is even sold to the highest bidder. The lighting by means of the smaller lamps is called Hadlaka di Rabbi Eleazar. Many rich people give their dresses ornamented with gold, to serve as wicks for the great lamp; so highly venerated is the memory of Rabbi Simon. — On receiving the benediction which is bestowed by the Rabbi presiding over the ceremony, each person present hastens to bring his offering, often of considerable value, — intended for the Portuguese Con-

² Benjamin de Tudela (p. 45) speaks of this village and of several tombs of the Talmudists found in the vicinity: of the above named tomb however he makes no mention.

gregation of Zephath, and serves chiefly to keep the building in proper repair.

These ceremonies are called Hilloula di Rabbi Simon (feasts of Rabbi Simon),¹ but I cannot relate the tradition which has given rise to them. I have not done so in my account of this festival, which is held in such high estimation in Asia, Africa, and even among the Turks. I have confined myself to the simple facts alone; the several parts of which would furnish matter for a whole book, if one took into consideration the very copious traditions that are afloat concerning them.²

For this festival an ode was composed and recited in Hebrew, something similar was used in Tunis in Arabic. I here insert both of them.

פיוט של בר יוחאי בלערבי

ג'מלי ג'מלחנא • כולי ושראבי • חמלי חמאלך בוכרא • תרחאלי •
 רחאלנא ראהלא עאן ג'ארל אנאבי • נסיכו רבי שמעון • נאיים
 מראפי • דקנז מסבסבא • נור ווג'הו ידווי • קנדיל מקאמו • לא
 נטאפי • אלילא פי לילא פי דאך אלמאקאם נוורו רבי שמעון •
 עליה אסלאם :

ופלכ'ר יעאודרו לפיוט ויקולו

נוורו לחברים ג'מלא עליהום אסאלם

פיוט בר יוחאי בשר"ח ערבי

בר יוחאי נמשחת אשריך • שמן ששון מחבריך :
 בר יוחאי

עטיאו לאלחבום שופרא • ג'מיע מינהו חי • יפ'ופנא מן לג'צרא
 בזכות בר יוחאי :

¹ This appellation is generally given by all the eastern pilgrims; who say, that when the Rabbi died, Heaven rejoiced.

² In Tunis, in the same night, just such a festival is held, with similar ceremonies.

שמן משחת קדש נמשחת . ממדת הקדש . חבוש על
ראשך פארך . בר יוחאי

זית דאינת למקדס . מדהון נהר לעיר . פי בנין למקדס . נעמלו
פ'רה ג'יד תאג'

נואר מעדס . פ'וק מלך דוד . ומנכת כל חג'רא . בזכות בר יוחאי :

מושב טוב ישבת . יום נסת יום אשר ברכת כמעת
צורים שעמדת . שם קנית הורך והדרך בר
יוחאי

מקעד מליח ומוכתר . פי בלדנא ציון . תמא מערא וסגור . פי
מקאם רבי שמעון .

אשכון בפ' משכור . פי אשון מירון . פי רחברוג'לצחרא .
גדי בר יוחאי :

עצי שטים עומדים . למורי יי הם לומדים . אור
מופלא אור היקוד הם יוקדים . הלא המה יורך
מוריק : בר וחאי

עוואד אצנד ולענבר . וואקפ'ין פי בית אלא . כל ח'ג'ר ולמרמר
להיכל אתעלא .

בזכות רבי אלעזר . תפ'ני מן אכלא . וויבתנא בלקידרא . בזכות
בר יוחאי :

ולשרה תפוחים . עלית ללקוט בז מרקחים . סוד תורה
כציצים ופרחים . נעשה אדם נאמר בעכורך :
בר יוחאי

ולסג'רת אתופ'ח . תלעיר דיק אנדר . אנשלך לווארד לפ'תח .
אסודרת ווהר . ייא מקוואה דיק לרייח . פי וואסרת

אדוואר . מעא סחבו פ'ילחדרא . סידי בר יוחאי :

נאזרת בנכורה • ובמלחמה אש דת השערה • וחרב
הוצאת מתערה • שלפת נגד צוררך : בר יוחאי

החזמת כל ג' ברוואה • פ'י קראית אזהר • מתיל ג'מר פ'י אצחרא •
תוקד בלא שרר • פ'י ידו סוף לקורא " ייא סער מנהו
חדר " ליד תואתי אשופרא " ייא סדי בר יוחאי

למקום אכני שיש • הגעת ופני אריה ליש • גם גלת
כותרת על עיש • תשורי ומי ישורך : בר יוחאי

מודע חג'ר ליקות " תמא נויל לפתב " וואיג' אסבע פ'ל מלכות "
אנתי ולסחב " תפ'ונגא מן פ'ום למות " זמן אדוד וטרב "
תפ'ונגא מן כול גצרא " ייא סדי בר יוחאי :

בקרש הקדשים • קו ירוק מחדש חדשים • שבע שבתות
סוד חמשים • קשרת קשרי שין קשריך : בר יוחאי

פ'י קרש למקדשים " סחבו לפול מעא " תיג'אן אדהב מלכוסין "
כמא אסולטון פלבלעא " פ'ידוד לאיים לכמסין " סואבע סבעא "
תעדת עליהם גצרא " פ'ופהום בר יוחאי :

לחמת

י'א רבי שמעון " י'א בר יוחאי " י'א רבי שמעון " י'א בר יוחאי
י'א רבי שמעון " י'א בר יוחאי " כבךך סאייר " ספון פ'י מירון "
בכךך פ'אייד :

יור חכמה קדומה • השקפת לכבודו פנימה • שלשים
ושתיים נתיבות ראשית תרומה • את כרוב ממשח
זיו אורך : בר יוחאי

יור פ'לחרוף סגירא " פ'לחדקא סבקת " שריעת רבנא כתיבא "
בסכעין וואג' תפצרת לוניד נבדע שירה " כומי מא יסבות "
ולא נשבע מן לאדרא " מן פום בר יוחאי : י'א רבי שמעון וכו'

אור מפלא רום מעלה . יראת מלהביט פי רב לה .
תעלומה ואין קורא לה . נאמת עין לא תשורף :
בר יוחאי

דו עגיב ועלי " קוזאי מינו נכה " מנטק לסנד גאלי " ייא סער
מינהו שאף " לעין מא תחרכלי " חתא נשוף לאוצף " כוחר
לעין חרא גירד " אלא בר יוחאי : ייא רבי שמעון " ייא בר
יוחאי וכו'

אשרי יולדתך . אשרי העם הם לומדיך . ואשרי העומדים
על סודך . לבושי חשן חמך ואריך בר יוחאי
נמשחת אשריך . שמן ששון מחברך : בר יוחאי

ייא מיסקר לוואלדא " ייא מיסקר קוואמך " לחדרין פ'לקעדא "
יסמעו מן פ'ומך " לך נדי לוואעדא " ונסמי ביסמך " פי דייקא
ולנצרא " נדי בר יוחאי : ייא רבי שמעון " ייא בר יוחאי וכו'
אסים אלא מברך . וואחדו פ'י דוואב . ייא רבי שמעון . עליך אכלם :
בבוחך ייא סידנא . נמשיאו לכלדנא : וגינא בן דוד ינגר וייפ'כנא .
ומעא אליהו . יסבוק ויבשרנא . בזכות אוהר . אלי אקרא
בר יוחאי : אסים אלא מברך וכו'

סמעו ייא ישראל . אד לכלם יקות . משה רבנו . אבת אלוחר .
מן ג'יין זמר . ומן ג'יין יקות . מכחוב פ'יהום . עשרת
הדברות : אסים אלא מברך וכו'

סמעו ייא ישראל . אד לכלם מליח . אמנו ייא ישראל . אדי אדניא
ריח . וגינא למשיח . וטלוק לבריה . יעבינא לירושלם ונראוה
כולשי מליח : אסים וכו'

סמעו ייא ישראל . אד לכלם עדים . אמנו ייא ישראל . בתחירת
המתים . וגינא למשיח . יופנא אתכמים . יאדינא לירושלם .
יתנחא ס"ם : אסים וכו'

סמעו ייא ישראל . אדך אוואל זמן . אמר עלא בצלאל . ובנינא

לְמִשְׁכָּן • תִּלְמִיד מוֹסֵא בֶן עֶמְרִם • אָמֹר יִזְכָּדֵר וְאוֹכֵלוֹ מְרִים •
 וְאָכֹו אֶסְיִיד • אֶהְרֹן לְאִימָם : אָסִים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ
 סָמְעוּ יִיא יִשְׂרָאֵל מְבַחֵב פִּלְמִדְרֵשׁ • יִגְיִנָּא לְמַשִּׁיחַ • וְשִׁבְתִּים חֲנֻשׁ •
 יֶאֱדִינָא לִירוּשָׁלַם וּלְעֵלֹם בָּלֵשׁ • וְיִילֻמְנָא לְכוּלִיָּא • כִּי בֵית
 חֲמֻקְדֵּשׁ : אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ

אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ • לְדוּוֹאֵם פִּדְלוֹ • אָמֹר עֶלֶּא מוֹסֵא • יִכְרְגִנָּא מִן
 פֶּרְעָה • כִּילוֹ וּרְכָבוֹ • פִּלְבָּחֵר גִּרְקוֹ • פִּיחַ כֶּרְגִּו יִשְׂרָאֵל • וּמִן
 מֵאֲצֵר גִּטְלָקוֹ : אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ

גִּטְלָבוֹ לְמוֹלָנָא • גִּרְדָּנָא יִנְצֵר • יִגְיִנָּא לְמַשִּׁיחַ • יִטּוֹלֹק אֶשׁוּפֵר •
 יִלְוִמְנָא לְכוּלִיָּא • סָגֵר מַעַא לְכַבֵּר • וְדוֹר הַמֶּלֶךְ • יִקְעֵד עֲלֵינָא
 סוֹלֶטָן : אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ

נִסְמְעוּ אֶשׁוּפֵר • מִן אֶסְמָא יִנְטָלֵק • לְגַבְלָא יִשְׁטָחוּ • אֶסְגִּוֹר יִסְפָּקוּ •
 לְחֻבְמִים יִפְיִיטוּ • וְצוֹתְהוּם יִחֲרֵק • לְאוֹמוֹת יִקְשְׁעוּ פִּינָא
 וְקוֹבוֹהוּם יִחְמֹק : אִסִּים וְכוּ

מֶלֶךְ הַמַּשִּׁיחַ • חֲבִית וּמַתְכוֹת • וְנַעֲמָלוֹ אֶסְעוּדָא בְּלוֹיתָן לְחוֹת "
 יִחְדְּרוּ פִי אֶסְעוּדָא • גִּמְיעַ לְאִבּוֹת " יִצְתָּפוּ אֶסְעוּדָא • גִּמְיעַ
 לְאִמָּהוֹת : אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ

יִיא מוֹיִין מְקַמֵּךְ • יִיא רַבִּי שְׁמַעוֹן • יִיא מוֹיִין מַעֲרַת " רַבִּי אֶלְעָזָר
 בְּנוֹ " נְפִרְחוּ פִי עוֹרֶצֶךְ • יִשְׂרָאֵל לְכוּלֹ " יִדְרָקוּ עֲלֵינָא • וְיִפְנָא
 לְעוֹן : אִסִּים אֶלֶּא מְבָרֵךְ וְכוּ

לִילָת אֶתְמַנְתָּשׁ פִּי אִיִּיר • תִּנְדְּרוּ לְהִילוּלָא • מַתַּע רַבִּי שְׁמַעוֹן • פִּי
 דִּיךְ לְמַעֲרָה • יִבְתּוּ לְחֻבְמִים • יִקְרָאוּ אוֹדָה • וְשִׁמְעָאע מִשְׁעוֹלִין •
 וּמִבְכָּר בַּל עֲנָבֵר : אִסִּים וְכוּ

נַעֲמָלוֹ אֶסְעוּדָה • סָפָל לְמַשִּׁי • יִיא פֶּרְחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכַנֵּי מִשְׁרָה •
 יִכְלָטוּ עֲלֵיהוּם • אֶפְרַיִם וּמְנַשֶּׁה • לְאוֹמוֹת יִקְשְׁעוּ פִּינָא • וּמֵא
 יִקְרֹוּשִׁי : אִסִּים וְכוּ

צָלוּ יִי אֱשְׂרָאֵל . וְצָפוּ אֲנִיָּא . יִהְיֶה בֵּית לְמִקְדָּשׁ . מִן אֶסְמָא
 מְבִנִּיָּא . יִנְגַּמְעוּ פִּי'הָא . יִשְׂרָאֵל לְבִלְיָא . וְנִשּׁוּפוּ עֲדָנָא .
 פִּלְסוּוּאָק מְרִמִּיָּא .
 יֵאָסִים אֱלָא מְבַרְךְ . וּוְאַחֲרוֹ פִּי דוּוּאָם . יִיא רַבִּי שְׂמַעוֹן עֲלִיד אֶסְלָם :

CHAPTER VI.

The state of the Jews in Palestine.

Deep misery and continual oppression are the right words to describe the condition of the Children of Israel in the land of their fathers. — I comprise a short and faithful picture of their actual state under the following heads.

1) They are entirely destitute of every legal protection and every means of safety. Instead of security afforded by law, which is unknown in these countries, they are completely under the orders of the Scheiks and Pachas, men, whose character and feelings inspire but little confidence from the beginning. It is only the European Consuls who frequently take care of the oppressed, and afford them some protection.

2) With unheard of rapacity tax upon tax is levied on them, and with the exception of Jerusalem, the taxes demanded are arbitrary. Whole communities have been impoverished by the exorbitant claims of the Scheiks, who, under the most trifling pretences and without being subject to any control, oppress the Jews with fresh burthens. It is impossible to enumerate all their oppressions.

3) In the strict sens of the word the Jews are not even masters of their own property. They do not even venture

to complain when they are robbed und plundered; for the vengeance of the Arabs would be sure to follow each complaint. Alas, alas, that such in the nineteenth century should be the condition of some of our people.

4) Their lives are taken into as little consideration as their property; they are exposed to the caprice of any one; even the smallest pretext, even a harmless discussion, a word dropped in conversation, is enough to cause bloody reprisals. Violence of every kind is of daily occurrence. When, for instance in the contests of Mahomet Ali with the Sublime Porte, the City of Hebron was besieged by Egyptian troops and taken by storm, the Jews were murdered and plundered, and the survivors scarcely even allowed to retain a few rags to cover themselves. No pen can describe the despair of these unfortunates. The women were treated with brutal cruelty; and even to this day, many are found, who since that time are miserable cripples. With truth can the Lamentations of Jeremiah¹ be employed here. Since that great misfortune up to the present day, the Jews of Hebron languish in the deepest misery, and the present Scheik is unwearied in his endeavours, not to allow their condition to be ameliorated, but on the contrary, he makes it worse.

5) The chief evidence of their miserable condition is the universal poverty which we remarked in Palestine, and which is here truly astounding; for nowhere else in our long journeys, in Europe, Asia and Africa did we observe it among the Jews. It even causes leprosy among the Jews of Palestine, as in former times. Robbed of their means of subsistence from the cultivation of the soil and the pursuit of trade, they exist upon the charity of their brethren in the faith in foreign parts. — The writer, who has seen all their misery with his own eyes, and with his own hands has touched the deep and ever open and bleeding wounds of his brethren, has often repeated in his heart the words

¹ Lamentations of Jeremiah. c. V. 10.

of Jeremiah: „If I go forth into the field, there I behold the slain with the sword, and when I enter into the city then I behold those who are sick with famine.“¹ — „How is my heart oppressed with sadness! how loudly does it throb, I can nowhere find peace.“ But altho' he has grieved over their inexpressible misery, he has also admired the resignation with which his brethren in the faith have borne their misfortunes for hundreds of years up to this time, and the confidence, with which they continue to be steadfast in hope. Like shadows they steal over the land, which nourishes their cruel and imperious tyrants. The ignorant and barbarous Arab tramples this sacred soil beneath his feet, and considers the Jew a disinherited and accursed being, unworthy of dwelling there; and yet these ruins, these desolate cities, these wide-spreading fields now uncultivated and desolate, are the inheritance of Israel; and still does this fruitful land up to the present day bring forth abundantly every kind of grain, fruits of all countries, and excellent wine; and its air is also of exquisite purity and indescribable freshness.

Who shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem, or who shall be-moan thee?² — My heart is pained that my people have fallen into such great misfortunes; it grieves and afflicts me. — Let us pray, lifting up our soul unto the Lord. Oh Thou, the hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in the land, and as a wayfaring man that turneth aside to tarry for a night? — Why shouldest Thou be as a man astonished, as a mighty man that cannot save? yet Thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by Thy name; leave us not.³ Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved: for Thou art my praise.⁴

¹ Jeremiah. c. XIV. 18.

² Jeremiah. c. XV. 5.

³ Jeremiah. c. XIV. 8. 9.

⁴ Jeremiah. c. XVII. 14.

In a word the state of the Jews in Palestine, physically and mentally, is an unbearable one. This we vouch for and our assertion is the more deserving of credence as we devoted all our time and energies to obtain correct information on this point, and yet there the land yields most abundantly. If the possession of it were not too *completely* in the hands of the Arabs, — if one could only secure for the Jews some little portion of it, and give them the means for its cultivation, sufficient sources of industry would be open to them, wherewith to obtain a subsistence. We are thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this from our own personal observations on the spot. We paid very particular attention to this subject, as it is one that has been much agitated in Europe of late. But what does it benefit them to cultivate the ground, if the Arabs rob them of the harvest?

At the sight of all the misery in which this country languishes, — a country, which has so much right to universal sympathy, I venture to raise a cry for help to my brethren in the faith in Europe. They will hear me; their hearts will be touched, and full of noble feeling, they will stretch forth their hands in aid of those unfortunates, for whom I plead. „The fettered prisoner,“ says the Talmud, „cannot free himself,“ and it adds: „He, who has a good object in view will receive from God the means to carry it out.“

A noble hearted man, whose name is ever mentioned with gratitude and veneration by our brethren in the faith, has been himself in Palestine among our people. I mean Sir Moses Montefiore, of London.

The charitable institutions, which he has himself founded at Jerusalem, are the abiding proofs of his great and noble exertions to alleviate the misery of his brethren; and thanks to the piety of this distinguished man and to the unwearied benevolence of his wife, the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem may become in time less miserable.

The old system of yearly almsgiving, which was but of little benefit, was of necessity discontinued; for a mere temporary improvement in their personal condition, unaccompanied by any elevation of their moral character, could have no lasting and happy result. In order to raise the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine from their degradation, — a work, which was commenced with much zeal and circumspection — it was necessary, besides securing to them the supply of their bodily wants, to awaken in them, by instruction and example a feeling of self-reliance.

And certainly never has assistance been more nobly and usefully bestowed. Even strangers admire this work of love: and every mouth is full of gratitude.

May the Almighty, the all seeing One, protect and sanctify their work; and the Children of Israel will not cease to bless them.

„The Lord hath shown His power before all people, that all nations may see the salvation of our God.“

„I pray to the Lord Omnipotent, that He will end my sufferings. May He send me help from above, and assistance against my oppressors “ — The Lord hath made bare His Holy Arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.¹

Journey through the Mountain of Lebanon.

In January 1848 I left the Holy Land Palestine, in order to traverse Lebanon to Damascus. I began my journey according to the following route. Several hours' journey from Zephath flows the river Jordan, which is here very narrow, it is crossed by a bridge, which by the Arabs is called Djesser Jacob (Jacob's bridge). On the other side of the Jordan, near the bridge, is built an Arabian Funduk (inn), where I spent the night. From this place I passed

¹ Isaiah. c. LII. 10.

in company with two Arabs over the plain Medan towards Novaran or Nuaran, and towards evening we came to a mountain, which is called by the Arabs Djebel (mountain) Heisch, of which I shall speak hereafter. Opposite this mountain to the west, is another high mountain, the Djebel Makmel, which is covered with snow nearly the whole of the year. Between these two mountains lies a broad deep valley, which the Arabs call Al Bika. In this valley to the east of Mount Makmel are found the ruins of Balbec. Balbec is a place which in ancient times enjoyed a great reputation. We shall further on allude to it more in detail. Under its fragments and rubbish are stones from 10 to 20 feet in length, — the remains of a building which, according to tradition, was formerly a magnificent palace of King Solomon. The legends of the Arabs assert that King Solomon had this palace built for Balkis, Queen of Sheba. This is the lady who visited King Solomon in order to ascertain if he was really as wise as reputed. After having spent some time in his company, she concluded that he was a far greater man than report had represented him.

Balbec is one of the most remarkable edifices of King Solomons time. It is mentioned in the Bible by the name of Beth Halvanon (house of Lebanon). In the first Book of Kings c. VII. 2. the extraordinary structure of the Palace is described; which we likewise find mentioned in the same Book c. IX. 19. and in II. Chronicles c. VIII. 6.

In the account of Rabbi Joseph Schwarz a native of Jerusalem in his Hebrew work *Tewuat Haarez* (Jerusalem 1845) Vol. 2. Fol. 33. p. 2. it is related when, and by whom this extraordinary building was destroyed. His narration runs thus: „In the year 5162, according to Biblical calculation, Tamerlane, an eastern King, who dwelt at Samarkand in Mongolia, came and conquered the whole of Persia and the middle of Asia. In the same year he also subdued Anatolia, Syria and Palestine, spreading desolation and destruction wherever he went. This ancient and remarkable building in Lebanon likewise fell a sacrifice to his fury.“ From this

account, according to my calculation, the house of Balbec stood 2200 years: — this I will here historically demonstrate.

According to the calculations of Seder Olam Solomon began his reign, according to Biblical Chronology, in the year	2926
He commenced the building of the Temple in the 4 th year of his reign (I. Kings VI. 1. II. Chronicles III. 2.); therefore in the year	2930
The building of the Temple lasted seven years (I. Kings VI. 38.); therefore up to the year	2937
Later he built a palace for himself (I. Kings VII. 1.), which was not completed before 13 years; bringing it therefore to the year	2950
Solomon reigned forty years (I. Kings XI. 42. II. Chronicles IX. 30.); 24 of which were spent in erecting the above buildings; we have therefore a period of 16 years remaining up to the time of his death. In these 16 years he built the house of Lebanon, Tadmur and other places (I. Kings VII. 2. IX. 17—20. II. Chronicles VIII. 1—7). If we add these 16 years to the above date 2950, shall we have the year of the death of Solomon	2966
The house of Balbec was destroyed	5162
It had therefore stood from	2196
or about 2200 years.	

On the road from Balbec to Damascus one comes to a spring which is called Fije (Arabic Fitschi), the water of which united to several other springs forms at the end of its meanderings a river which flows past Damascus towards the sea, where it unites with the river Bardi, and falls into the sea Bahret-el-Merdsch.

To the north or Mount Makmel, near Danijeh, is a forest of several hundreds of cedar trees, of which some have attained a height of about 80 feet, and beneath round the trunk a circumference of 36 to 40 foot.

The first mentioned mountain Djebel Heisch rests with

its base on one side of the Antilebanon mountain, whose north side is uncultivated and stretches away into the desert, whilst its southern side cultivated and inhabited extends to the place Banijas.¹ The north side extends nearly to Damascus. Near the Djebel Heisch a second mountain rises upon Antilebanon, — the Djebel Assaik, called by the Arabs Djebel Tels (snow mountain). These mountains form the highest summits of Lebanon.

On these mountains, which are very high and the ascent to which is of a very difficult and almost insurmountable character, on the road to Damascus, lies the village Beth-el-Desana in the neighbourhood of which, about an hour's journey towards the north, is the source of the river Al-Bardi (Bardi means *cold*), which flows north-east towards Damascus, where it is divided into two parts, one of which runs through the city of Damascus, and the other by the side of it, and after flowing a certain distance unites with the Fitschi, and falls into the sea Bahret-el-Merdsch.

The mountain of Lebanon is very fruitful: it produces superior good grain and abundance of excellent wine. The breeding of cattle, particularly of sheep, is a matter of great importance to the country. Of natural produce the cultivation of cotton and silk is especially attended to, from which the inhabitants make a stuff which they call Kitbye.

The chief part of the population is formed by the tribes of the Druses, whose religion is a mixture of Christianity and Mahometanism. I was told that among them, the practice, abhorrent to all human feelings prevails, that a father may take his daughter and a brother his sister, to wife.

As a particular proof of the degree this strange custom is practised I will relate the following fact. An Israelite was on very friendly terms with the head of a Druse family, and was asked one day by the son of his friend to obtain

¹ On a mountain an hour to the north of Banijas, is shewn to this day an ancient building, called by the Arabs Messet-el-Tair, where, according to their tradition, God made His covenant with Abraham.

for him from his father his own sister for his wife. The Israelite expressed himself willing to do as requested, and accordingly conveyed to his Druse friend the petition of his son. The father however replied that he could not comply with the wish of his son, because he had determined to marry his daughter himself. This fact was related to me by the Israelite himself.

The inhabitants of the mountain form a sort of republic. Two sheiks, each of whom has his own district, govern the country. The one, named Amir Abschir, dwells in the city of Dir-el-Kamir, to the north-east of Tyrus; the other, called Hamir, lives near Aldania. The Druses are of great stature and robust form, and bold and fearless warriors.

In some places isolated Jewish families are to be found. These families however are few and far between, they are very hospitable and communicative. They are much esteemed by the Druses, and, like the inhabitants themselves, are occupied in the cultivation of the soil. The above mentioned unholy custom is not practised by them; they are very religious, but ignorant. Their children, especially the girls, according to the old patriarchal custom, go out to tend their flocks, just as the Bible (Genesis c. XXIX. 9.) relates of Rachel. A circumstance was related to me which took place some years ago, it was to this effect: a young girl was tending her flocks on the mountain, when she was assailed by a Druse. She begged him to leave her, and then threatened to meet violence with violence. As the Druse was heedless of either prayers or threats, the girl drew a pistol and shot him. When the case came before the Court of Justice, she not only escaped unpunished, but received much praise for her courage.¹

In the district of Sheik Hamir reside a great number of Christians, — the so called Maronites, whose Patriarch lives in the city of Kaniban, where also their church stands.

¹ Rabbi Joseph Schwarz in the work we have already mentioned likewise relates this fact.

Sanguinary frays frequently take place between them and the tribes of the Druses. The custom of the Druses above referred to in marrying their sisters and daughters is something so repugnant to the better feelings of human nature, that we ardently hope and trust that Philanthropists of all climes will exert their influence to cause it to be discontinued. No place more than Damascus in the middle ages was the scene of dire persecution against the Jews. Verily we felt as we trod its soil where so much Jewish blood has been shed, that such a country deserved to be blotted out from the surface of the earth. In one of these, some time since, many Christians perished.

From Lebanon I went to Kanneitra, Sasa, Kokab, Daraya, and after fourteen days travel arrived at Damascus.

CHAPTER VII.

Damascus (Arabic Schamm).

Synagogue of Djubar. — Medrasch Gachsi, the ancient asylum of lepers. — The Mosque Moawiah. — The grave of Naaman. — Latkie. — Antakijeh. — Aleppo. — The grotto of Ezra. — Ancient Synagogue. — Tedif. — Aintab. — Merasch. — An accident. — Birdschak, city of Nimrod. — Urfa, ancient monuments. — Suwerek. — Tschermuk.

The city of Damascus was, as the Bible relates, for a long time the residence of the Kings of Syria. From 500 to 600 Jewish families (Rajahs) dwell there. Besides these natives, there also reside here a great number, under the protection of their respective Consuls, members of their own

faith who dwell in the city, so that the total number of inhabitants amounts to more than 4000.¹ They possess several Synagogues, of which one contains the five books of Moses, written in one volume on parchment bearing the date of 4749 (989 after Christ). There is another manuscript, containing the writings of all the Prophets, dated 4344 (581 after Christ). The first pages are ornamented with coloured pictures, representing the Temple with the altar of the Holy of Holies, several sacred vessels and a drawing of the ancient walls of Jerusalem, which latter though somewhat faded is still discernible, and bears the traces of a clever master-hand. The letters of the manuscript are Hebrew, square, and of the usual form. By this we mean the Assyrian character, which is at present in vogue and which as we have stated further on was introduced by Ezra after the return from Babylon.

Half a mile to the east of this town, on leaving by the Gate Bab Duma, lies the little village of Djubar² or Djubaris in which several Jews reside, and where there is a very ancient Synagogue.³ Tradition says that it was built

¹ Pethachia, p. 193, mentions 10,000 Jews in Damascus.

² Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. 17, 2. div., p. 1312: The village Dschobar to the north-east of Damascus is particularly held sacred by the Jews; because they consider it as the Hobar (or Hobah, Genesis XIX. 15), to which place Abraham, with his servants pursued the four Kings of Syria, „and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus, and delivered Lot and his goods from the hands of the enemies. But another etymological explanation of the ancient Arabs mentions instead of Hoba the spot Berzeh (derived from *baraza*, to advance), which is situated more to the north, at the foot of the Kasinu-mountain, as being the place to which Abraham victoriously advanced, and then performed his devotions on the mountain, which is therefore dedicated to him. — His house steward Eleazar of Damascus is likewise honorably mentioned in the legend.

³ Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Vol. 17, 2. div., p. 1424: In Dschobar, according to v. Kremer, is an ancient venerated Synagogue, in which is preserved an old scroll, written on parchment, containing the Law. In this Synagogue is likewise shewn in an old walled up stone vault

by the Prophet Elisha and destroyed by Titus, but restored again by Rabbi Eleazar, the son of Arach. In the Talmud¹ there is also mention made of a Synagogue in Dju-bar, which was ruined in the 16th century by the apostasy of a Jew.²

The structure of this ancient building reminds us of the Mosque Moawiah,³ the interior was supported by 13 marble pillars; 6 on the right and 7 on the left side, it was everywhere inlaid with marble. This leads us to the conclusion that this place was formerly very opulent, marble being expensive. There is only one portal by which to enter. Under the holy shrine, where the Pentateuch was preserved, was a grotto, wherein several persons could stand upright; the descent there to was by a flight of about 20 steps. According to the Jews, the Prophet Elijah is said to have found in this grotto a place of refuge from the persecutions of King Ahab. Except the grotto, in which there is nothing uncommon, no trace of the above mentioned structure is to be seen. — At the entrance of the Synagogue, towards the middle of the wall to the right, is an irregularly formed stone, on which can be observed the traces of several steps. Tradition asserts that upon this stone sat King Hazael, when the Prophet Elisha anointed him King. The Jews relate wonderful things of this Synagogue. It was respected by every conqueror; and, even the Arabs, who

the tomb of the Prophet Elijah, in which sick persons are said to recover in one night. Every Friday the Jews dwelling at Damascus assemble there, and read together the Old Testament.

¹ Messechet Berachot Fol. 50. — Seder Hadaroth Fol. 77 (Kenista de bey guvren).

² Teschuwath Mabit Vol. 3, Fol. 147, p. 2.

³ Benjamin de Tudela does not mention these Synagogues. — Pethachia, p. 198, speaks of two Synagogues; of which the one was erected by Elisha, the other by Rabbi Eleazar, son of Asariah. He transfers them however to Damascus: *In Damasco Synagoga exstat, quam condidit Eliseus, itemque alia magna, cujus fundator R. Elieser Asariae filius, in qua precantur.* — I however think that my assertion is correct, and that the two Synagogues are but one, as above mentioned.

otherwise devastated the whole country, have not touched this building, which is of an extraordinary solidity; and the Jews, who sought refuge there, were never exposed to attacks.

On leaving the Gate Bab-el-Sherky an hour's journey to the east of the town stands an ancient building called Medress Gachsi, named after a servant of Elisha,¹ who being cursed by that Prophet was struck with white leprosy, which tormented him to the end of his life. Even in the present time the Authorities seek out those who are afflicted with this incurable disease and endeavour for the sake of safety to confine them to certain houses, which are surrounded by a garden and moat. Tradition has ascribed to this place since the remotest period, the power of curing this disease. We however cannot understand how one place more than another can cure disease. A clear spring of water bubbles on one side of this hospital, which was founded hundreds of years ago and is entirely supported by the gifts and alms of pious Mahometans.

In the city is a very extensive place surrounded by a strong and high wall, in the centre of which is an ancient building called by the Mahomedans Moawiah,² by the Jews Bethrimon.³ This place is very famous in Jewish History. Peruse the Book of Kings carefully and you will see. It is used at the present time as a Mosque.⁴ A marble colonnade passes through this large square building; walls, columns, floor, ceiling, all are of marble. Light and air enter by means of a large opening in the ceiling. There are four large portals to the interior of the building. Here the Mahometans commence their pilgrimage to the grave

¹ II. Kings. V. 20. 27.

² See the history of the Mosque in Dr. Carl Ritter's *Erdkunde* B. 4, Vol. 17, div. 2, p. 1363—1375.

³ II. Kings. c. V. 18.

⁴ Benjamin de Tudela p. 47, likewise speaks of this Mosque, and calls it Guona Daniessek.

of their Prophet in Mecca. Furnished with all that is necessary for their journey, the caravans with their camels enter at one door and go out at the opposite one, continuing from thence their pious pilgrimage. In the interior of this Mosque is the tomb of Jichia ben Sachor, who is venerated as a Saint by the Mahometans.

In the eastern part of the town, outside the Gate Babel-Scherky, at a distance of about half an hour's journey, is to be found a tomb of colossal size; but otherwise unworthy of any observation. Tradition relates that it is the tomb of Naaman, the generallissimo in the brave army of the King of Aram. The Arabians call this tomb Sheik-Atzlan, and venerate it as a sanctuary. A few steps from it flows a strong stream, which springs from the Mountain Riboui-Vill-Min-Sar. The Jews assert that this is the Mount Hermon, mentioned by King David.¹ The name of the stream is Zouf (wool); because wool is oftentimes washed in its waters. From the same source rise four streams, which flow towards Damascus from whence they divide themselves into several smaller rivers. The first of them is called Annivad, the second Thora, the third Jazid, and the fourth Bardi; these, according to the Jews, are the rivers mentioned in the II. Kings. c. V. 12.

From Damascus I journeyed through Mount Lebanon up the river Bardi over Deir Kanon, Zuk, Ez Zebedoni and Andjar towards Beirut, where I embarked, and over Tripoli di Suri (called by the Arabs Trabolus-el-Scham (proceeded to Latkie. This last journey was a very difficult one on account of the wind being unfavorable and our ship was oftentimes in danger of being wrecked. After a stormy passage of 11 days I landed at Latkie, where procured a horse and, accompanied by two Arabs (of whom the one was the guard and the other the owner of the horse), I rode on towards the Antuchya of the Talmud. This place has often been alluded to in the Talmud, we shall further on

¹ Psalm CXXXIII. 3.

allude to it more lengthily. On the way there we came to a tent, out of which an Arab appeared, and asked of me, as I was a Jew, a toll of 2 piastres, whether in the name of the government or for himself I am unable to form an opinion. I declined paying, and rode on undisturbed. In Antakijeh itself I found 150 Jewish families, tolerably contented with their position, very religious, not ignorant, but remarkably superstitious.

Aleppo.¹

Aleppo is 12 days' journey from Damascus, and the route is a very dangerous one, on account of the many Arab robbers.

¹ Kayserling, Pedro Teixeira: Before we accompany Teixeira to Aleppo, his next place of destination, let us make a halt with him at Ana on the Euphrates.*) — According to the tradition of the inhabitants the town is very old, and mentioned in the Bible under the name of Hena.***) The most difficult part of the journey which poor Pedro had to perform was that from Ana to Aleppo. It lasted from the end of December until the middle of March, and how truly did he thank God when at last he reached the town. That Aleppo or Haleb, as it is called by the Moors and Turks, is the often mentioned Aram Soba of the Bible, is maintained by ancient and modern Geographers as well as by Teixeira. The town, which is generally supposed to contain more than 14,000 houses, formerly numbered about 2000, of which many were distinguished by their size and beauty. „But the houses not only of the Turks and Moors are as magnificent as can be imagined, but those of the Jews too and of the Greek and Roman Catholic Christians and Armenians are beautiful enough to be the dwellings of princes.†) We do not speak of the

*) See Tawat Haarez by Rabbi Joseph Schwarz. Fol. 143.

**) II. Kings. c. XVIII. 34; c. XIX. 13, and the corresponding passage in Isaiah. c. XXXVII. 13. — P. Teixeira, 139.

†) Ibid. 175: *y no solo las de los Turcos y Moros son de aquella suerte, pero aun de las de los Judios y Christianos Griegos y Armenios son muchas de tanto precio que son capaces de habitar en ellas Principes.*

Aleppo is called by two names by the Jews, viz. Zova and Aramzova,¹ the first name is used to the present day in all Jewish writings. Zova was the capital of a small kingdom, whose ruler, in the time of David, was Hadarezer, son of Rechob.²

The Jewish population of the city comprises about 1500

three hundred Mosques situated here, and of their magnificent internal arrangements, nor of the many warehouses, with their merchandise from all parts of the world, nor of the broad streets of the town paved with slabs of marble, neither do we dwell upon the royal hospital, of the management of which our traveller complains, but we do speak of the hill which rises in the midst of the town, and like a Palladium, is separated from it on all sides. It is round like a little mountain, and upon it is a fortress en miniature, which as the Jews and Moors maintain was founded by Joab, the general of David. According to tradition, not only the synagogue there was built by the same Joab, but — imagination gives itself play! — the Patriarch Abraham is even said to have taken up his residence for a time on the fortress mount. *) Moors and Turks, Christians and Armenians, Chaldeans and Greeks dwell in this rich commercial city. At the time that Teixeira visited the town more than a 1000 Jewish families dwelt in a separate part of it, which was enclosed by walls. Pedro relates that they possessed a large synagogue, which, according to their belief, was built 1500 years ago. Most of the Jews there are rich and engaged in trade; others earn their livelihood as runners, and others support themselves as artists, workers in gold and such like. **)

¹ II. Samuel. c. VIII. 3. 5.

² I. Chronicles. c. XVIII. 3—6.

*) Ibidem 176: *En medio de la ciudad esta un collado alto, separado yguualmente por todas las partes de todo el resto de la ciudad, redondo como un monte de trigo, sobre el qual esta una fortaleza que Moros y Judios tienen per tradicion que primero la fundo Joab Capitan General de David: tambien afirman que en aquel mismo lugar residio el Patriarcha Abraham algun tiempo.*

**) Teix. 178: *Tabien viven Judios de los quales haura mil casas buenas en barrio separado, pero dentro de los muros, con una grande Sinagoga, que afirman hauer mil y quinientos anos que fue fundata y se conserua: hay muchos dellos ricos, los mas son mercaderes, et resto corredores y oficiales como plateros, lapidarios, y de ostras artes semejanter.*

to 2000 families,¹ who enjoy great privileges under the protection of the European Consuls, of whome some are of their own faith; for Raphael di Piechotti, Consul of Russia and Prussia, and Elias Piechotti, Consul General of Austria, have obtained a certain influence over the Pacha, which they frequently exert in favour of their brethren.

The Synagogue is of considerable antiquity, and is supported inside by a triple row of 72 pillars. In order to enter the Temple you must descend 20 steps, caused by the sinking of the ground. There is a report that this building was erected by Joab the general of David. The windows which lead out into a large beautiful garden belonging to the community, are on a level with it, on account of the ground having sunk. A room in the upper story is somewhat decayed, and serves at the present time as a retreat for the women visiting the Synagogue.

The Jews dwelling at Aleppo are distinguished as much by their faithful devotion and fidelity to the great and holy religion of their fathers — the Jewish Law — as by their profound scientific acquirements. Not less than 60 learned men among them bear the name of „Chacham“ (the wise). The venerable, grey headed chief Rabbi Abraham Antibi, who by the publication of several learned works, of which I will only mention „Ohel Jescharim“, has gained for himself a great name, and the second Rabbi Mardochai Liwaton, who had the kindness to visit me several times in my lodgings, are regarded as especial patterns of piety and learning, and merit a place at the side of the great Rabbis of Europe.

The study of the Law is pursued here with the greatest devotion, there is scarcely a Jew in Aleppo of whatever age or rank, who, notwithstanding all the demands made on his time by his business or position, does not find leisure every day to repair to the ever flowing stream of Thora, in order to derive instruction from that liquid water of

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 49, relates that 1500 Israelites dwell at Aleppo.

life, and prepare himself for the holy and sublime duties of his religion. At the hour of midnight the greater part of the community is to be found assembled within the walls of the Synagogue; youths, in the feeling of their full and undiminished strength, — men, with their cares for their families — even the weak old man, fast approaching the tomb, — all are assembled in that sacred place; and while without, darkness covers the earth, here within are awake to the brightest spiritual light the pious minds of the faithful sons of Judah. Until the morning dawns they remain together, occupied in the study of the Talmud and Sohar, or devoting themselves to prayer. The morning prayer closes these assemblies, and the day finds them busy and active in their different occupations.

Thus passes night after night, with the exception only of the Friday to the Sabbath; for then their occupations are not divided; but led by four conductors of the choir, the whole assembly joins in sacred and edifying songs composed by their Chachamim. This kind of psalmody makes a deep impression upon an European, by the peculiarity of the method of singing, and the enthusiastic nature of the chorus. The greater number of these chants are composed by the distinguished poet Rabbi Israel Nagarah of Damascus, whose celebrated work *Semiroth Israel* is universally known. The leaders of the choir possess an extraordinary memory. I heard of one who knew by heart more than 1000 hymns. In addition to this there is a singing society, instituted especially for the practise of psalmody, which is performed with a warmth such as I never heard before. It fills the listener with a true enthusiasm.

The Sabbaths and festival days are divided between devotional exercises and amusements. The latter are performed with quite as much conscientiousness as the former, as in the east the music and dancing are regarded as integral parts of the service. All take part in them, the rich as well as the poor, without any distinction. The wealthy take such loving care of the poor, that the latter are in

want of nothing for the celebration of their Sabbaths and festivals. Altogether the benevolence and hospitality of the Jews at Aleppo is really great: they are indeed worthy sons of Abraham. To the European Jew all houses are open; he can spend weeks, even months, in the house of his host, without being reminded by the smallest inattention on the part of his entertainer, or any member of his household, that he is not at home. I myself for the space of five weeks found in the house of the worthy Salomon Lunjado the most friendly reception.

But not only to the members, of his tribe and faith, but to every Christian traveller is the Jewish house open.

The houses are very beautiful and are remarkable for their extreme cleanliness. The food is prepared in a savoury way, and would be pronounced excellent even by an European with a spoiled palate. The Jews dress here as they do in Palestine. They speak Arabic, but many of them speak also Hebrew with a so called Portuguese accent. They likewise speak Italian with great fluency. The poor of the community are numerous, but are generously assisted.

There is in Aleppo a Jewish sect called Chassidim. They are performing their prayers in a kabbalistic manner every morning, which generally lasts 4 hours. But not having a Minyan composed of such as are initiated in the Kabbalah they are obliged to perform prayers conjointly with non-kabbalists. There prevails in that town a curious custom, viz: a common Israelite avoids marrying the daughter of a Cohen (priest). They think such marriages dangerous and support their belief with a passage in the Bible, Levit. chap. 22, v. 23. which runs thus: The daughter of a priest if she be a widow or divorced and have no child and is returned into her father's house". During my stay in that place I had the opportunity of getting convinced of the veracity of that custom. A rich man of my acquaintance there, named Esra Athiu, a priest (Cohen), could not from the above mentioned reason find a suitable match for his marriageable daughter

and was obliged to marry her to a poor Chacham, and offer him 30,000 piaster as a dowery, into the bargain.

Aleppo is surrounded by high walls. Its flourishing commerce extends to Mosul, Bagdad, Diabekr, towards Egypt, the East Indies, and even to England and France. In the year 1705 an earthquake devastated the town, and many persons were half buried, so that they appeared like trees with their roots in the ground. Another earthquake, which was felt by the whole province, caused in the year 1822 great destruction. A third shock in the year 1848, which I myself witnessed there, was less violent, and left behind no important traces.

Eight hours' journey from Aleppo, on the road to Aintab is a place called by the Jews Tedif, and by the Arabs after the name of the great Ezra, Capel-Azar. In the Synagogue of the place, a grotto and stone are to be seen, where, according to the tradition of the country, Ezra wrote the Thora¹ after the return from Babylon. Only about 20 Jewish families live here, who, like the Jews of all the other places in the country which I visited, speak Arabic. Before the commencement of the Feast of weeks the inhabitants of Aleppo annually make a pilgrimage to Tedif.

From Tedif I returned to Aleppo, whence I travelled to the Arabian town Killis, to the north of Aleppo; its Jewish population consisting of about 50 families live by trade, and are in a very happy condition. After a short rest I turned my steps towards Aintab, south-east of Killis, which I reached after a journey of a day and a half. Before I was permitted to enter the town, I was obliged to keep with my companions a quarantine of 10 days in one of the two buildings composing the lazaretto; it is sometimes so overfilled, that travellers are obliged to encamp in the open air. The travellers, who are viewed with most suspicion by the officers of Health, are the merchants from the neighbouring mountains, especially from Daghestan and Grusim.

¹ Ezra. c. VII. 6. 21.

There are one hundred Jewish families. The Chacham of that place is Rabbi Shalom, a very pious and learned man. He is also an adept in the Kabbalah. He has two wives.

At a distance of three days' journey from Aintab, the country assumes quite another character; one enters upon a region of mountains, whose summits are constantly covered with snow, which when melted flows down in miry streams. To the north of Aintab, on the road to Merasch, flows the river Marad.

I next arrived at Merasch, which lies at the foot of Mount Taurus, whose glistening glaciers lift up their heads to the clouds. The climate is always rough but healthy; the men are strong and of large stature. The town trades with the neighbourhood and with Kurdistan in agricultural produce, cattle and wool. The streets of the place are encompassed by canals on both sides, which are filled during the whole year by the water of the melted snow. The houses are handsome; and the inhabitants, of whom many are rich, dress in the Turkish style. The Jewish community is comprised of about 50 families, who are in a tolerably prosperous condition, and enjoy many privileges.

About 50 Jewish families live in that place. The Malum has two wives. One day a man of about 30 years of age called upon me, and requested me as a European (who by the by, is generally looked upon as a Chacham among them), to admonish his wife to discharge her conjugal duties. I for that purpose sent for his wife, whom to my great amazement found to be a female of about 12 or 13 years of age... Upon my asking her how long they have been married, she said: upwards of 5 years.

From Merasch I traversed the neighbourhood, which, rich in picturesque views, deserves the attention of travellers, I then returned to Aintab. While on my way back, and riding through a stream formed by the melted mountain snow, my horse shied and threw me, and I remained hanging with my foot in the stirrup. I fell backwards, and was

dragged by the horse a considerable distance, until at last, bruised and covered with blood, I remained lying on the ground in a state of unconsciousness. In this condition I was picked up by a caravan then passing. After a few days of rest, I again resumed my journey, as I had neither time nor money enough to wait until I was perfectly cured.

I next proceeded to Birdschak, in Arabic Bir-Sacca (Birra), which was only a day and a half's journey distant. The Jews believe that this is the city Aram Naharajim, in which the parents of Rebecca dwelt.¹ At present Jews no longer dwell there; though they often come there for business purposes.

The travellers, who have eluded the quarantine in Aintab, have to endure this disagreeable process here. In order to enter the city, it is necessary to cross the Euphrates in a ferry boat. The river protects the town on this side, whilst the other sides are protected partly by a chain of mountains, which rise quite close to the town, and partly by some old walls, which join on the mountain. From a distance, this large wall, which surrounds the town in a semicircle, and by its outlines forms a strong contrast with the dark blue back ground of the chain of granite, presents an extraordinary appearance. At the foot of the mountain are to be seen a number of houses of different sizes some of them already fallen into ruins; the one however always adjoining the other. Each of these houses contains a cellar, in which are built two or three rooms, capable of holding at most two to three persons. All these rooms stand in connection with the enormous subterranean passages, which extend under the town, under the Euphrates about as far as would take a moderate walker an hour and a half to traverse from the other side of the river. On the summit of the mountain is built a Funduk (inn), in which Armenian merchants dwell.

¹ Genesis. c. XXIV. 10.

Urfa.

Eighteen hours' journey from Birdschak lies, in a desert neighbourhood, the town of Urfa, likewise enclosed by a wall. In the vicinity of the town are to be found a great number of grottoes, built by human hands; these are all open, and lead into a subterranean passage, which is said to be several hours' journey in length. Regular gates, doors, streets, extensive places and even walls are to be found here. It is beyond all doubt that these are the traces of a town destroyed by an earthquake. Could this town not be the ancient „Ur“ of the Chaldees, of which Moses speaks?¹

In Urfa are to be found monuments of antiquity, which date from the oldest biblical times; some are preserved up to this day; others are in a ruined condition. We mention here some of the most remarkable:

1) The house, in which Abraham was born. It is an artificial grotto, hewn out of a single piece of rock; and a cradle of white stone. The grotto is closed and guarded by the Arabs; it can however be entered on payment of a small gratuity. The Arabs according to their tradition are wont to carry thither their sick children, and to lay them in Abraham's cradle. Here they leave the little ones the whole night; if they are not found dead the next morning, their recovery can be looked forward to, with certainty.

2) The furnace, into which Abraham, according to the *Sefer Hajaschar*, was thrown by Nimrod. It is a trench surrounded by a railing. A house, which is carefully kept closed, has been erected on the spot in order to protect it from the inclemency of the weather. — At the present time a stream flows there, which divides itself and forms two ponds, which abound in fish. Like all other places and subjects, which can in any way be brought into connection with the great patriarch, these are contemplated with the greatest veneration. The Mahometans entertain the greatest

¹ Genesis. c. XV. 7.

respect for the pious Abraham; the furnace therefore, as the place of his martyrdom, and the spring, which flows there, are regarded as sacred. Even the fishes, which live in the ponds formed and supplied by the spring, are regarded with reverence; so much so, that fishing in these sacred waters is considered a capital crime, and punished with death. The fishes are consequently very numerous, and they are so accustomed to the presence of man, that instead of shunning his approach, they quietly continue their merry gambols.¹ It is really a surprising sight and I was much surprised at it at first to see the fishes floating on the water and without fear gazing upon passers-by.

3) About 50 steps from this furnace are two stone pillars, connected together by means of an iron chain. According to the tradition of the place, the fire into which

¹ We quote Kayserling frequently as we convinced ourselves, that he is a great scholar.

Kayserling, P. Teixeira: Four day's journey from Aleppo on the declivity of two mountains, is the old town of Orfa, the original residence of Abraham, as such, bearing the name of „Ur“.*) Up to this day, says the traveller, is the spot on which the Chaldeans endeavoured to burn Abraham, universally revered. The inhabitants shew a spring, in which is to be found an excellent kind of fish. It would be considered a sin to catch these fishes, because they are said to have extinguished the funeral pile, which had been prepared for Abraham.**) The inhabitants of this place likewise know the spring, out of which Rebecca, whom they call Rafka, is said to have drawn water for the faithful servant of Abraham and for his camels, when he came there to fetch a wife for the son of his master.†)

*) Genesis. c. XI. 28.

**) Midrasch Bereschit 38 (Of this miracle the Midrasch knows nothing.)

†) Teixeira 186: *Orfa, ciudad antiquísima, Hamada en otro tiemp Ur, ado los Caldeos quiezieron quemar a Abraham, y hay aun oy en ella lugar con este título tenido en grande veneracion; y muestran allí una fuente en cuya agua se cria buen pescado, comer del qual se tiene por sacrilegio, porque dicen que fue criada miraculosamente para apagar el fuego en que querian quemar el santo Patriarcha: fuera de aqueste pueblo se ve un pozo, que afirman ser aquel de cuya agua Rebeca (a quien el los dicen Rafka) dio de beuer al criado de Abraham, que qua a buscar muger para Izach, y a sus camellos.*

Abraham was thrown, was so hot, that a near approach to it was impossible; and this apparatus was therefore put up, in order that the martyr might be thrown from afar into the flames. This apparatus, which has defied the ravages of time for 4000 years, would be a valuable acquisition for a Museum of antiquities. The already mentioned book Hajaschar relates all the details, how the patriarch was saved and his brother Haran lost.

About an hour's journey from the town, on the side of a rocky mountain, are built in several places a great number of square grottoes of considerable size. One of these, more roomy than the others, leads into a second one and these together form a large chamber. The interior of these ancient buildings is very regular; the ceilings are smooth, some stone pillars, consisting of one single piece, are still in existence, — others have crumbled to pieces; all are however hollow and inhabited by serpents and scorpions; dreadful guests, whom it would not be advisable to disturb in their pleasant repose. — Some of these grottoes are furnished with a kind of fore-yard, and at the present time serve as pens for the herds of sheep.

The Jews as well as the Mussulmen believe and repeat the tradition of the place, that the celebrated hunter Nimrod, who is mentioned in the Bible¹ as the builder of cities, dwelt here with his people.²

At the distance of an hour's journey from the city of Nimrod, I visited another grotto, over which a beautiful arabian house, surrounded by trees, has been built. This is said to have been the house of Job. This will put an end to the various disquisitions of the learned as to where Job really held his residence, and near it there is a cave, in which the pious sufferer is said to have sat, when, tormented with leprosy and affliction, he received the visit of his friends. In the neighbouring rocks are deep holes, which

¹ Genesis. c. X. 11.

² Ritter's *Erdkunde*. Vol. 11, p. 317.

were made use of by Job as corn-magazines; and the Arabs use them to this day for the same purpose. In the courtyard near the house is a well, which supplies with very good water.

In Urfa about 150 Jewish families reside;¹ they are free and happy; so ignorant however, that hardly 50 persons among them are able to perform their devotions. When we speak of their being unable to perform their devotions, we mean that they do not understand the Hebrew language in which their prayers are written.

The village *Charan*, which is well known in the Bible, it being the death place of Tarah, the father of Abraham,² is situated six hours' journey further to the north. In this place Rebecca is said to have given the advice to her husband, that Jacob should flee from his brother Esau.³ — The Arabs point out, half a mile from Charan, a very deep well covered by a stone, and assert that this is the well mentioned in the Bible.⁴

The Bené-Haramachim (children of Haramachim) inhabitants of mountains, of whom the Book of Esther speaks, dwell near Charan, about a day's journey distant.

Siwerek. Tschermuk.

On the day of my departure from Urfa (this place presents many inducements to the belief that it is the ancient Ur of the Chaldees), the caravan, which I had joined, was attacked by robbers. I applied to the captain, and tendered him my submission. The caravan offered but a

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*. Vol. 11, p. 327 mentions 500 Jews.

² Genesis. c. XI. 32.

³ Genesis. c. XXVII. 44.

⁴ Genesis. c. XXIX. 2. 3 8. 10.

short and fruitless resistance; after which our travellers were made prisoners, bound and gagged; I was however left at liberty, and was conducted in my Mahomedan dress to the tent of the chief. As it was growing dark I offered him a drink, which consisted of nothing else than good brandy;¹ he drank without suspicion; and soon afterwards fell into a deep sleep. Of this I gave information to my fellow travellers; during the night they all freed themselves from their bonds, and we escaped. We seized the chief bandits, bound them, and then applied for help in the next village. Near to Siwerek however a troop of horsemen assailed us, and we were compelled to let our prisoners go, and to betake ourselves to flight. On the following day we arrived at Siwerek, after a journey of 3 days.

Siwerek is a very old town, situated in the midst of a very desert region, and surrounded by a wall half fallen into ruins; on one side stands a tower in the form of a pyramid. The houses of the town are small, and built of brick; every thing is calculated to make an impression of misery and poverty, although the corn-market is considerable and richly furnished. Near the town are the ruins of a citadel.

Only four Jewish families live in this place; but the community was formerly much more numerous; celebrated Rabbis dwelt there, and commerce flourished. But the plague, that secourge of the east, swept away a great number of its former inhabitants. An hour's journey from the town is a very large Jewish place of burial, in which are some gravestones so ancient, that it was impossible for me to decipher either the dates or their inscriptions.

From Siwerek, the road in a northern direction leads through a mountainous region of enormous rocky cliffs, unhealthy, on account of the many swamps. It is the mountain Kirwantschimen Dagħ, called by the Jews Touri Talga (snow mountain). In order to traverse this locality mules

¹ The Bedouins do not know brandy.

are used, which are especially trained for this purpose. The cunning and sagacity of these mules baffles all attempts of description.

The Jews in the neighbourhood call the inhabitants of the mountain Ammonites or Moabites; as they believe they are the descendants of the tribes so often alluded to in the Bible as Ammon and Moab, who still maintain their old place of habitation.¹ I spent a night among these inhabitants of the mountain in the little village of Kirwan, and found there an hospitable shelter. My interpreter asked them whether they were descended from the people Ammon or from Moab, to which we received the answer that they did not know; all that could be asserted was, that the present inhabitants were descendants of both nations. They speak a peculiar language which when written much resembles the characters of the Kurdish. I have already mentioned that the latter possesses Chaldaic letters. The houses here are very large, are built of lime and decorated outside with chalk. In order to avert and mitigate the continual frost, a large fire is always kept burning in the inside of the dwellings. The climate is the same as at Kurdistan in Persia; the people themselves are powerfully built; their principal occupation is agriculture; besides which they carry on some trade in sheep, oxen and mules. The character of the people is rude even savage, and being separated from other tribes living in their vicinity, they form a kind of independent republic. The dress of the people consists of a coarsely woven mantle, similar to those worn in the Moldau, they have likewise turkish trousers, falling down to their feet and enclosed in sandals, also a head dress of lambskin, or a high felt hat without a brim, resembling a tightly drawn up night cap.

I left these mountains accompanied by the Moabite who had sheltered me, and by a brother Israelite. The extremely difficult path which leads over the steep sides of mountains

¹ Jeremiah. c. XL. 11.

and deep hollows, can only be traversed under the guidance of a guide, which I possessed in the person of my Moabite host. In the midst of a deep hollow path surrounded on all sides by rocks, near the Kyziltschibu-Tschay river, my guide suddenly stopped, and desired me to show him the contents of my wallet. The occasional arbitrary conduct of these guides while in the desert in uninhabitable parts, where they have no fear of being called to account, is great. In reply to my question as to whether we were near a frontier, or whether he was allowed to exercise the right of tax-collector, he gave me the short answer that so he would have it. I seemingly prepared to comply with his request; but took advantage of a favourable moment when he turned his back to throw my cloak over his head. Deprived of the use of his hands, I bound him with the help of my brother Israelite, and took him to Tschermuk. There however I was soon obliged to let him go again, as I could find no turkish officer of justice.

Tschermuk lies on the mountain Mehrab Dagk. The Jewish community numbers about 100 families, who, exposed as they are to be continually pillaged, live in a wretched condition. Their customs and dress are Mahometan.

An hour from Tschermuk are numerous hot mineral springs; they are collected in a large stone cistern in a grotto, and serve as a public bath to the inhabitants of the town. I myself had an opportunity of trying the healing power of these springs; for, wounded and exhausted as I was, by using them ten days, at the moderate rate of 5 paras (3 centimes) the bath, I was perfectly cured. The effects of these warm mineral baths upon invalids, whose strength is exhausted and constitution debilitated, are very great, but they need not here be lengthily described by me as they have been repeatedly alluded to by the learned travellers from all parts, who have visited these localities. Not far from the springs an inn has been built, for the accommodation of the guests who come here to use the baths.

CHAPTER VIII.

Diabekr.

The town. — Expedition to Armenia. — Ezra's manuscript. — Nisibin. — Tomb of Rabbi Jehuda ben Betera. — Jewish villages founded by Tselma. — Djesireh. — Zakuh. — Remarkable customs. — Extraordinary marriage.

In order to arrive at the important town of Diabekr, I had to make a two days' journey through the mountains, on which the vegetation is very scarce, and where few traces of cultivation are to be found. Here, as well as in other places of the east, the Jews are obliged to inhabit a certain portion of the town: but this separation from the other inhabitants rests only on the custom of eastern countries, and has nothing exclusive or degrading in it, as the so called Ghetto in Rome. About 250 Jewish families reside in Diabekr; and although there is no truly scientific man to be found among them, still, many possess profound knowledge of our dogmas, and understand the text of the Bible.

There is nothing very remarkable in this as in many parts the Jews who knowing nothing of any scientific pursuits have a knowledge of the truths contained in the Bible, their inheritance for ever. In some parts of Europe likewise this state of affairs exists.

In a corner of the synagogue is a small apartment, always kept closed, and held in the most extreme respect not only by the Jews, but also by the followers of other creeds; because it is believed, that the Prophet Elijah once appeared there. In a niche of the wall of this apartment is preserved a Pentateuch, written in the Assyrian characters

(Hebrew, square). This manuscript, a beautiful volume of the usual size, is only shewn once in each year, on the eve of the day of Atonement (the Col-Nidre), when it is placed on the holy table (Schulchan). The origin of this strange custom we could not find out; nothing similar exists elsewhere. On this occasion all pious persons draw near and kiss it with the deepest veneration. As a Chacham, it was easy for me to obtain permission to view this highly revered relic; but I found nothing particularly remarkable in it. On a careful examination I found that it differed in five places from those we use in Europe, but the change was unimportant. It is written on very thick parchment and the letters resemble those of our Pentateuch; the writing however is ungraceful in many places illegible, and in others completely obliterated. The Jews assert that this copy of the Pentateuch was written by the hand of Ezra.

In answer to my question as to the origin of this relic, I was informed that formerly it was in the possession of the very large Jewish community at Mardin; but as that was exposed to repeated pillages, it had been confided to the community of Diabekr, which latter had subsequently refused to restore the work to its former owners. In Mardin I found this assertion confirmed by an acknowledgment of the proper delivery of the book to the community of Diabekr, signed by the chief Elders and other persons of consideration in the place. Thro' making further inquiries I ascertained that the community of Mardin had come into the possession of the work in the following manner: The Jewish inhabitants of Nisibin (now called Neitzibin by the Jews and Arabs), being attacked by a horde of robbers, had fled to Mardin, and taken the Pentateuch with them. According to their account, this Pentateuch came from the Jeschiba (Academy) of the Rabbi Jehuda ben Betera, who had an Academy at Neitzibin, and was one of the most celebrated and learned scholars of the Talmud. Their tradition also adds, that it was written by Ezra's own hand. Many other manuscripts

are said to have been there at the same time; but have been lost in consequence of numerous pillages and attacks.

As this relic deeply interested me I made enquiries of many other persons concerning it; and particularly of a Jew, living in Mardin, a venerable old man, who appeared to me as a prophet in the wilderness and related to me the fact almost in the same words.

The work is doubtless a very ancient one, and deserves in every respect the special investigation of the learned. It was for this reason that I carefully perused it and now lay before my Readers the result. As hitherto no mention has been made of it by any learned man, I esteem myself happy to be the first who, of only through the relation of widely spread traditions, has related anything certain concerning it. At the same time I lament that it was impossible for me to devote my exclusive attention to the form of the „Petuchot and S'etumoth“,¹ to the letters, and to many other points differing in the German and Portuguese rites of the Jews and which might have been decided by this ancient codex. Had I but imagined the importance of this Pentateuch to the Jewish world, I should certainly have devoted my entire time and energy to it, in order to have contributed to aid in the solution of a problem, which has long occupied the attention and notice of my learned cor-religionists in all parts of Europe. I shall however be enabled perhaps in my second journey to make this good.

The Chasan of that place, named Chayim, has 4 wives, two of them he married in accordance with the mosaic law (5 M. 25. 5). He is about 80 years old and still very strong and healthy.

The town of Diabekr is enclosed by a high wall, which dates from the Roman conquest, as some latin inscriptions, which have been preserved to this day, prove. This wall

¹ Petuchot and S'etumoth are different forms of paragraphs in the Pentateuch and by a careful analysis of these, various important and scientific deductions can be made from the Holy Writ.

is very strong, and extends along a chain of granite rocks, forming a sharp descent to the bed of the Tigris, which is here at least 20 feet deep, navigable and is the road of communication between the towns of Mosul and Bagdad. The navigation is however very dangerous, as the ships often get upon the rocks, and are then engulfed by the boisterous waves. Another great danger is caused by the melting of the snow on the mountains, which rushes down in fearful streams, dragging huge masses of earth and rock along and hurling them against the ships, so either crushing them, or causing leaks. I myself saw a ship go down in this manner with crew and freight; only one sailor was able to save himself.

The building of these ships, which can be constructed in the short space of two or three days, is very simple. A number of goats are slaughtered, and their skins taken off entire; these skins are sewn up at the end where the head is cut off and at other open parts; they are then distended with wind, so as to form large bladders. These bladders are joined together in twelve rows, each row containing twelve skins;¹ upon these are laid square planks of wood, and the bladders are fastened to them. These peculiarly built vessels are not rare in these parts and have been described by various oriental travellers. Upon these rafts planks are laid, and on them the goods are packed. These rafts float very easily, but when they strike violently on a rock, the distended skins burst, and goods and property are sunk in the water.

Diabekr numbered in former years over 80,000 inhabitants, who are now reduced by the ravages of the plague to about one third of that number. This disease however almost exclusively visited the northern part, the empty

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, vol. 11, p. 64, likewise describes these rafts; but there 59 skins are mentioned as requisite for such a ship. Our assertion is however correct; as we have several times seen them ourselves, and have travelled by them.

houses in which are permitted to fall into ruin. The town carries on an extensive trade with Anatolia, Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul, Bagdad and Kurdistan. Industry flourishes, and what it produces is widely celebrated; many of their wares are exported to various parts, many clever artists in silver, and armourers are to be found here. Splendid gardens surround the town; the interior is distinguished by magnificent buildings, many bazaars, numerous fountains, ornamented with beautiful marble columns, and above all a superb Mosque. Much care is taken to keep the interior of the houses neat and clean.

The walls of the town, which I have already mentioned, are so extremely broad, that a carriage can with ease turn round on them. On their top, to which the ascension is by terraces, several houses are built. While, in company with several Jewish friends, among whom was my host Isaac Misrachi, I was walking one day on the ramparts, from which can be enjoyed a most beautiful view of the town and the picturesque neighbourhood, I expressed a wish to find out what those houses contained. My companions endeavoured to dissuade me from entertaining such a wild notion, by asserting that ghosts frequented those houses, and that all curiosity would be attended with danger. The Jews in these parts are great believers in ghosts and hobgoblins they swallow the greatest humbug and nonsense. I would not be deterred from my intention, and boldly entered one of the buildings, in which I found nothing remarkable; for it was empty and desolate. It was only on my return that the real cause of this fear was told me: namely, that many Mahometan women hold secret meetings with young Armenians in these solitary buildings where the deepest mystery is observed and to be safe one can only enter these buildings armed; an inquisitive person runs the risk of paying with his life for his intrusion into such secrets. Later, I found this report confirmed, when I wished to investigate a second house; for hardly had I entered it,

when a bullet whistled past me, after which I naturally lost all desire for further researches.

In Diabekr, Arabic, Turkish and Armenian are spoken. The Jews however generally speak Arabic. The national character of the inhabitants is mild; the usual dress is Turkish; to which however the Europeans make an exception; for they go about in their national garb.

Two days' journey from Diabekr is the town of Mardin, on the mountain Djebel Mardin; on the summit of which are to be found the ruins of an old castle. About 50 Jewish families live here,¹ who, although they have a certain quarter of the town assigned to them for their dwelling, still live tolerably free and unmolested. They mostly devote themselves to agriculture, dress in the Mahometan style, and speak Arabic. Their Nassi is called Mailum Moses.

Two days' journey from Mardin is Nisibin; the Jews call the town Neitzibin, which latter name is also mentioned in the Talmud. This town, lying on the Tschak-schak, was formerly of some importance; and, according to the Targum of Jerusalem, is said to be the Acad of the Bible. If this really be the Acad of the Bible — how is this once flourishing and prosperous town fallen! Only two² Jews live there now; a father and son. The father, Mailum Samuel, is a butcher; the name of the son is Isaac. It must however be borne in mind that a Butcher among Israelites is different from one among other people, as he has to kill according to certain prescribed laws. — In the burial place, which is about an hour's journey from the town, near which are seen wonderful ruins of the Roman

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 11, p. 390. Here a considerably greater number of Jews is mentioned: my assertion is however the correct one.

² Benjamin de Tudela, p. 51, speaks of 1000 Jews. — Pethachia, p. 193, mentions 2800; he likewise speaks p. 170 of a Synagogue of Rabbi Jehuda ben Betera at Nisibin. — *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 11, p. 426, likewise mentions this tomb, and says, a ruin is to be found over it. But this, as above mentioned, is no longer in existence.

time, likewise the tomb of Rabbi Jehuda ben Betera,¹ which, as an object of general veneration, is the goal of many pilgrimages. Formerly a house stood over the grave; but it was pulled down about ten years ago by order of the new Pacha, and its stones used in the erection of barracks. One of the stones removed, is said, on good testimony, to bear an inscription in memory of the celebrated Talmudist; but it was impossible for me to discover it, even after a most close search. A round stone about five feet high was shewn to me as his grave stone; but I could find no inscription on it. According to general belief, the Pacha was punished for desecration he committed by dying in the same year. In this same burial place are said to rest the remains of many Talmudists; but no monument and no historical vestige justify the truth of this assertion.

Tselma. — The villages of the Jews.

Two hours' journey from Nisibin, in a south east direction, is the village of Tselma. According to ancient biblical custom, which is still always followed in the East, the village bears the name of its founder, a Jew, celebrated and universally respected in the neighbourhood for his riches, noble character, and his tried warlike bravery. This person was so munificent that he expended the greater portion of his fortune in dispensing charity.

A Pacha, who was favourably disposed towards Tselma, made him a present of a considerable tract of land. Tselma built a number of houses on it, which he offered to the Arabs and Armenians, on condition, that they should cultivate his fields. Thus sprang up and increased after a while

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 45, says, that the tomb of the Rabbi Jehuda ben Betera is in the village Meron in Palestine. I believe however that my assertion, according to the Talmud Pessachim Fol. 3 is more correct.

the above mentioned village. Tselma, when attacked by plundering hordes, repulsed them by his own personal courage and thereby continued to rise more and more in the respect of the inhabitants of his village. He now governs as an acknowledged Ruler. According to eastern custom, he has two wives, who have born him, seven children. I remained two days in this truly patriarchal family, and enjoyed many proofs of attention and sympathy. Several other brethren of my faith have likewise settled here.

The chain of mountains Djebel-Sandjack, which the people of the country believe to be the mountains of Seir,¹ extend to within an hour's journey of Tselma. Thence I made excursions into the villages, which are chiefly inhabited by Jews, and found during my visits that they are in a lamentable state of ignorance. The Bible is to them a dead letter, a book with seven seals; they practise only a few external traditional duties, without knowing or understanding their inner worth. On the Sabbath day they assemble in the Synagogue; but the Chacham, who is the only one who can read, must pray for all. He likewise reads the weekly lessons from a printed Pentateuch, for manuscripts of the law they do not possess.

They occupy themselves chiefly in agricultural pursuits, and carry on a small trade in cattle, and weave certain stuffs; few only are engaged in commerce. As they are frequently attacked by the Kurds, they know how to defend themselves, and take active part in the combats, in which the wandering hordes are ever engaged among themselves, as in fact they must be on one side or the other.

¹ I proved to them however that these traditions were certainly incorrect; as the mountains of Seir are on the southern boundary of Palestine.

Dschesireh. — Sachu.

After a sojourn of about ten days in these villages, I came over Kusri to Dschesireh, on the Tigris, at the foot of the mountain Djebel-Djudi, which the Jews call Crez-Gezera, and which they regard as the wilderness mentioned in the Bible.¹ I consider their opinion incorrect, and I regard myself bound to make mention of it. — They further maintain that the mountain, called by the Arabs Djebel-Djudi, at the base of which lies the town, is the mountain Tschuk, of which the Talmudists speak.² Towards this parts, according to their tradition, the scape goat laden with the sins of the people was driven forth on the day of Atonement into the wilderness, but I think this is a mistake as the mountain is a great distance from Jerusalem. Besides the same authority represents it to be only six hours' journey from Jerusalem.

I pointed out to the Jews residing here that they must be wrong in their tradition: my geographical proofs convinced them.

About 20 Jewish families live in the town,³ of whom some are very rich.

The dress of the inhabitants is very peculiar: they wear a long silk undergarment, which by the Moors in Algiers is worn open in front; over this a vest richly embroidered in arabesques, and over this again a kind of red satin tunic without sleeves. The covering for the head consists of a high pointed felt hat, and around this pyramidal head dress are wound different stuffs, so that it attains a very remarkable circumference. They dress in this way in summer as well as winter.

¹ Leviticus c. XVI. 22.

² Messechet Joma chap. 6, v. 4.

³ Benjamin de Tudela p. 52 says, that at that time there lived in Dschesireh 4000 Jews, who possessed a Synagogue, which was founded by the celebrated Author Ezra. I have heard nothing of it.

On the road from Dschesireh to Sachu you have to pass over the Tigris, for which purpose the ships I have described are used. At low water the river can be passed by a floating bridge, which, while I was there, was carried away at high tide. In passing over an accident occurred; we came into contact with the rocks; the distended goat skins burst, and goods and chattels wore all in the water; and had to be hauled up again, without however having sustained other damage than a wetting. From Dschesireh the road branches off in a south west direction for about 18 hours' journey. In order to arrive at the town of Sachu, the Chabur river has to be crossed, which is united to an old canal, and is passed by a brick bridge. At the gate an entry tax of 1 piastre is demanded from all strangers. On the north and west sides the town is protected by moats.

Sachu on the Chabur. About 200 Jewish families reside in this town; they support themselves partly by commerce with the neighbouring Kurds, and, as workmen, manufacture woolen stuffs and such fabrics. They are mostly wealthy, but live in a state of great ignorance.

The Rabbis in these parts are mostly men of very little education who take advantage of the utter ignorance of the people to make a position for themselves.

Two Rabbis live in the town, of whom the one, Rabbi Schalôm, is very rich, the second, Rabbi Eliahu, is well off. One day Mailum Elihu summoned me to him on very important business, and on my arrival I found him leaning over the book Beth Joseph. He then told me, that a Jew, who travelled in the different neighbouring villages with merchandise, had disappeared for some time. His wife considered him dead and wished to marry again. He, the Mailum, believed himself justified in permitting the woman to do so; but he wished first to hear my opinion on the matter. I remarked that as the husband might still be living, or have been compelled to adopt the Islam faith, and as in this case the woman was under the control of her husband, she ought not to contract any new marriage, as it would

not be legal. — To this the Rabbi replied, that the young woman left alone, was exposed to the danger of forgetting herself. — On my further objection, that in our country no Rabbi would venture to decide such an important question without the advice of his colleagues, he replied, that he was the chief Rabbi of the country; his orders were sufficient, and would be accepted and acted up to without further convocation or appeal being necessary. Thus it remained, and the woman received from him the permission to marry again.

Six hours' journey from the town rises the summit of a great mountain, which joins the chain of mountains of Kurdistan. The Jews believe that this is Ararat, and that here the Ark of Noah rested after the Deluge. If this really be true the place is very remarkable for its ancient associations. We find in the Bible¹ the word Ararat, which the Targum Onkelos translates by Touri Kardū² (mountain of Kurdistan); from which the country received its name. The mountain is very steep, almost perpendicular, and it takes six hours to reach the summit from the bottom. Wonderful things are here related of the Deluge. One of the Kurdish tribes annually towards the end of June, ascends the mountain, and spends there the whole day in devotional exercises, they use on the occasion large lighted torches. They believe themselves descended from the royal house of Sennacherib; and retain the tradition that King Sennacherib himself had divine service performed in memory of the Ark.³ On descending the mountain they bring with them some remains of the Ark, which, according to their assertion, is still deeply buried in the earth. The little pieces received are in the form of planks; some whitish grey; some black and pierced with holes. It is not

¹ Genesis c. VIII. 4.

² Pethachia p. 176 relates that many thousand Jews formerly dwelt here and describes the cause why they were driven away.

³ The Talmud mentions and explains this under the word „*Nisroch*“, Isaiah c. XXXVII. 38.

possible for me to give a more accurate account of this Kurdish ceremony; for it did not take place during my stay; and I can only repeat what I heard in answer to my questions.

At the base of the mountain stand four stone pillars, which, according to the people residing here, formerly belonged to an ancient altar. This altar is believed to be that which Noah built on coming out of the Ark.¹ They likewise assert that his remains are buried in this vicinity; they do not however specify the exact spot. I myself obtained several fragments of the Ark which appeared to be covered with a kind of substance resembling tar; but of these, as well as of many other things, I was robbed between Bagdad and Constantinople, three days' journey from Sivas, and twenty from Scutari. — At the same time I also lost several manuscripts written in the Assyrian characters; and this grieved me more than the loss of my fortune. Money can always be regained but it is not always that the traveller has an opportunity of getting possession of manuscripts calculated to throw light upon science. It is the opinion of learned men of the present day that the Bible was originally written in Hebrew and that as the Jews during the captivity at Babylon forgot the form of character of their own language. Ezra on his return to Jerusalem with 42,000 souls substituted the Assyrian or Babylonian for the ancient Hebrew.

¹ Genesis c. VIII 20.

CHAPTER IX.

First journey in the mountains of Kurdistan.

Reflections respecting the dispersion of the 10 tribes. — Sandur. — Deik. — Tanura. — Grotto of the Prophet Elijah. Alkusch. — Tomb of the Prophet Nahum. — Pilgrimages and ceremonies at this tomb.

On my arrival in these countries, when I saw the happy condition of the Jews dwelling there, — their freedom from all oppression, and the flourishing state of their temporal affairs, — I could not get rid of the thought, that this was the land, in which the ancient dispersion of the children of Israel took place; in which, according to the words of the Bible, „they were lost.“ It was hither that Tiglath Pileazer had brought them;¹ and, by comparing those past times of misery and anguish with those words of Holy Writ: „And the lost of Assyria shall again be gathered together,“² we find a close connection.

Why does the Prophet call those „lost“, who inhabit this flourishing land, the high road of the great Caravans, which disperse life and wealth on their way? — this land of happiness and contentment? — And yet the words of the Bible are full of truth; for these countries are visited by misfortune in consequence of the children of Israel residing there.

Great was the anxiety with which I began my researches. I carefully examined each dwelling, — I inter-

¹ II. Kings. c. XV. 29.

² Isaiah c. XXVII. 13.

rogated the inmates, in order to arrive at the secret I longed to know; and at every question I believed myself to be a step nearer to the goal of truth.

My brethren in the faith related to me that these widely extending tracts of mountain were inhabited by Jews, who, living dispersed among the Kurds, never came from the mountains, and thus shut out from the world, as it were vegetated there. Notwithstanding all the representations of insurmountable difficulties which were made to me, I still adhered to my determination to seek them out, and to penetrate into the interior of the mountains, where no caravans can pass, and where dangers of every kind threaten every step. I became ill; my brethren bestowed on me both consolation and pity; and I explained to them the words of Holy Writ, and spoke of the duty which I had imposed on myself of finding out the lost of the ten tribes of Israel. „I shall recover," said I, „when I see my brethren, of whose very existence the world has no conception; who inhabit that land where no traveller ever penetrates." My representations and prayers had at length a good result; and several offered to accompany me. „See, he cometh, he springeth upon the mountains, and hath passed over them."¹

The reader will follow me to those desolate mountains, where the warning graves of many a traveller rise to deter the intruder from the fearful wilderness he enters, and to give him proofs of the dangers which threaten him. — The further I advanced the more difficult the journey became. To horsemen these small sloping paths are almost impassable; and I was often obliged to clamber upon my hands and feet. On one occasion I almost met with a very serious accident as a portion of the earth gave way and I was miraculously saved from being hurried into a deep precipice. From time to time only a single pomegranate or figtree is to be found.

I next arrived at Sandur, where the Kurdish chain of

¹ Solomon's song II. 8.

mountains begins; about 200 Kurdish and 50 Jewish families live here.

Two days' journey from Sandur is the town of Deik, lying in a fertile valley, and surrounded by numerous springs, some of which possess mineral properties. Here dwell 40 Jewish and 280 Kurdish families.

After another two days' journey from Deik, I arrived at Tanura, a town, situated on a high hill and surrounded by mountains; it has a numerous Kurdish population, and about 30 Jewish families. Near it are two caves, the one communicating with the other; the first is empty, and serves as an anti-room to the second. Opposite the entrance falls from the wall a most costly curtain made of rich stuffs and embroidered with gold. In the middle of the ceiling, which is ornamented with oil-paintings, is suspended an antique chandelier, in which lights are kept continually burning, and these, added to other lamps and lights in this mysterious place, shed around a solemn light, which has an irresistible effect upon the visitor. This grotto, about which wonderful legends are told, was, according to the traditions of the Israelites and Kurds, inhabited by the Prophet Elijah. Together with the surrounding fields it belongs to the Jewish community, who employ the profits arising from the produce of the fields, in keeping the grotto in proper order. It is for this purpose placed in the charge of a Mohametan family, who as a reward for their care, are freed from paying taxes, and enjoy the highest consideration; they have from time immemorial, taken care of this sanctuary, which is likewise venerated by the Mahometans. The alms and gifts of Pilgrims, who at different times of the year come to this place, are appropriated to preserve the interior of the grotto; the especial guard and care of which is under the superintendence of a Jew.

From Tanura I went to Alkusch, where I arrived in 1848, two days before the Feast of Weeks.

Alkusch.

Alkusch is situated in a very unfruitful neighbourhood. The town is inhabited only by Armenians, and appears to be very ancient. The houses, which stand single, are like fortified towers, rising at the foot of the mountains. Several Israelites and Kurds accompanied me to Alkusch, in order to attend the ceremonies here, which take place at the tomb of the Prophet Nahum.¹ Very near one of the mountains is a large court, in the middle of which stands a spacious building, consisting only of one room, capable of containing about 1000 persons. There are two entrances into this building, which was intended for a Synagogue; but, standing as it does without a community, it presents a strange appearance. Altho' this Synagogue is at present deserted; it was formerly resorted to by many Jews who resided in Alkusch and altho' it is now in a dilapidated condition, it gives evidence of having once been very beautiful. In this desolate Temple on a spot, parted off by railings, is a catafalque, covered with tapestry worked in gold, and ornamented with various coins, above which is a costly canopy. This is said to be the tomb of the Prophet Nahum. The Jews from Mosul, Aruel, Arbil, Kirkuk, from the Kurdistan mountains and from a still further distance of eight days' journey round, annually assemble a week before the Feast of Weeks for a ceremony, at which they spend 14 days in religious exercises. The Armenians entertain them for this period, and even give up their own houses to them, while they themselves live during the time in the courtyards and on the terraces. I myself, was a witness to these ceremonies, and can vouch for the truth of my statement.

The pilgrims bring their manuscripts of the Law with them, and place them in the holy shrine of the Temple.

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 53, mentions the Synagogue of Nahum as being in Mosul; I however found it here. He likewise states p. 68, that the tomb of Nahum is 6 hours' journey from the tomb of the Prophet Ezechiel at the place of *Ein-Schifta*.

The women then enter the chamber of the Prophet; after this the service begins. First the Book of Nahum is read aloud from an old manuscript, which is laid upon the catafalque; this finished, they make a solemn procession seven times round the sacred shrine, singing sacred songs. After the seventh round, a hymn is sung addressed to the Prophet, the chorus of which is, „Rejoice in the joy of the Prophet Nahum!“ Those men that accompany the procession follow in alphabetical order according to their various names. Then come the women who do not understand Hebrew, and recite the prayers translated for them into Arabic or Kurdish, and then dance, round the catafalque singing. This ceremony is performed enthusiastically, and lasts for about an hour.

On the first evening of the Feast of Weeks, 5th of Sivan, they assemble in the Synagogue, which is lighted by about 1000 lamps, and enter the chamber of the Prophet, when service begins. Those, who are able to read, pray; the others listen with devout attention. This solemn proceeding has nothing particularly important in it; and as soon as it is over, they go without further ceremonies into the sacred house, where a festive and general entertainment takes place, at which coffee and cakes are plentifully served. At break of day morning prayer is recited; after which the men, bearing the Pentateuch before them, go, armed with guns, pistols and daggers to a mountain in the vicinity, when, in remembrance of the Law, which on this day was announced to them from Mount Sinai, they read in the Thora and recite the Mousaph prayer. With the same warlike procession they descend the mountain. The whole community breaks up at the foot, and in Arabic fantasy, a war performance, begins. The picturesque confusion, the combatants, their war cries, heard through the clouds of smoke, — the clashing of weapons and the whole mimic tumult presents a fantastic spectacle, which is not without a certain dignity, and makes a strange impression on the spectator. This performance which is of a very singular character and which strikes the careful observer as something very peculiar, is not practised

by the Jews in any other parts of the Globe. This war performance is said to be a representation of the great combat, which, according to the belief in those parts, the Jews, at the coming of the Messiah, will have to maintain against those nations, who oppose their entrance into the promised land, and their forming themselves into a free and independent kingdom. The women who remained behind in the town, come, singing and dancing to the accompaniment of a tambourine to meet the men, and they all return together. — Even the professors of other creeds take a part in this jubilee festival of their guests, which moreover is to them a matter of pecuniary advantage.

I was at first almost stunned by the tumult and excitement of the noisy crowd; but afterwards I became quite meditative, when I saw to what a degree ignorance and custom can deface a religious festival, and injure even its most essential principle.

Several parts of these ceremonies are doubtless of foreign origin, and give evidence of Arabic custom. I therefore thought it as well to address some words on this subject to my brethren in the faith, who show great respect to Jewish European travellers, and whose opinion they consider as especially important. It was explained to me, that these customs have been held in respect since ancient times, and that they must be kept up until the coming of the Messiah.

The return to the Synagogue took up nearly half a day; as they often stopped by the way and renewed their warlike games. When at length they reached the Synagogue, the Pentateuch, which they had taken with them, was replaced in the holy shrine; after which began near the catafalque the usual service for the Prophet. That finished, all returned to the town, to rest after the exertions of the day. At Vesper time, the customary divine service was performed in the Synagogue. Orthodox Judaism requires of its followers to pray three times a day: morning, Afternoon and Evening. It is the latter that we here refer to. Afterwards all went out of the town to a place of amuse-

ment lying at the foot of the mountain. There the men drank and gave way to merriment, while the women danced to music performed by Armenians. Dancing has accompanied religious devotions in the east from the remotest antiquity; the Bible is full of passages corroborating our statement. Alms for charitable purposes and gifts for the preservation and embellishment of the chamber of the Prophet, poured richly in. When the day closed, all hurried back again to the Synagogue, in order to perform the Arvith prayer.

The belief in miracles is here almost general, and numbers many worshippers. Here the pilgrims bring their sick, and shut them up alone in the Prophet's chamber; if they surmount the fear so natural in such a lonely spot, their cure is considered certain. For a superstitious patient such a night is often attended with the worst results; for, as tradition says, at midnight a movement is said to be perceived in the catafalque, and a large figure arises from it, which in a hollow sepulchral voice addresses the patient: „What dost thou here, and what is thy desire?“ — If the patient ventures to reply to these words without fear, he is cured immediately; in the other case however, he is lost. To every one in good health it is strictly forbidden to stay at midnight in this place. I wished to convince myself as to what had given rise to this superstition, and for that purpose took advantage of the tumult and uproar of the evening to furnish myself with everything necessary to oppose or prevent any imaginary fear as well as any real danger which might threaten me, and then concealed myself beneath the draperies with which the catafalque was covered. As soon as I was alone I quitted my hiding place, took the manuscript, which is ascribed to the Prophet Nahum, and began to examine it; it contains nothing but the prophecy which is to be found in the Bible. The parchment and the characters were very much of the same description as those to be found in the different parts of Europe and America. I felt myself very uncomfortable, and often ceased reading, imagining that I heard a suspicious noise, or a slight move-

ment. Soon however I recovered my moral courage, and went on reading until I had finished the whole. The night seemed to me interminably long, and I was at some trouble to resist the drowsiness which almost overcame me; for this purpose I began to read in a book of Psalms. Whether the oil of the lamps caused my head to ache, or the atmosphere of superstition, in which I had lived during the last months, exercised its power on my imagination, certain it is that I felt my ideas become confused, and I rambled on without control. In these moments I really fancied I saw the mysterious tomb move, and spectral shapes pass before my mind, they however gradually disappeared. At last midnight struck, — my heart beat violently, and my whole frame trembled, while a profound sleep began imperceptibly to take possession of me. Thus I lay until early the next morning, when I was awakened by the devotees who entered the Temple, to resume the solemnities of the day. They assembled me full of curiosity, and assailed me with questions as to what I had seen, and how I had spent the night. It would be a matter of impossibility for me to describe the very questions that were put to me by the people. They were so astounded, that a mortal should dare spend a night near the tomb of the Prophet, that they regarded me as superhuman. I answered however that it was forbidden me to disclose the events of the night and that nothing would ever induce me to betray the secret, the knowledge of which I had acquired. I really believed that I did right in not taking away these people of this almost single prop of their faith; but towards their Chachamim I was not reserved; but related to them the whole truth. The people of the country spoke afterwards very much of the services which I had rendered in the matter of the Prophet, in having overcome the dangers to which so many had fallen victims.

During the time of the pilgrimage, a Jewish attendant is entrusted with the care of the Synagogue; during the rest of the year the keys are confided to a Christian woman

of the place, who attends to the ever burning lamp of the sacred tomb. It is she, likewise, who admits and accompanies the pious travellers, who wish to pray at the tomb of the Prophet. The Elder is Moses Zellel of Mosul.

CHAPTER X.

Second journey in the mountains of Kurdistan.

Akra. — Illusage of Jewish women. — Birsani. — Ascent of the mountain Zibari. — Sindu. — My illness and recovery. — Complaint of a Jew against his wife. — Dispute and arrangement of the difference. — Dangerous journey in the mountains. — The Jews there. — Threat of death and flight. — Return to Birsani.

Five days after the Feast of Weeks I started on horseback¹ with several other pilgrims for Mosul, which I reached after a journey of two days. The portion of country through which I travelled is called in the Bible in several places Assyria, a name which is used to this day in all public acts of the Jews, in marriage contracts, in divorces etc.

To the particulars of my visit to Mosul I shall devote a whole chapter, and shall now only speak of the eastern parts of Kurdistan.

The journey there is even much more difficult and dangerous than those which I described hitherto in this work, and my Jewish brethren opposed my determination

¹ I was very fond of riding on horseback, unfortunately however few of these animals are to be found, in the east camels are generally used. They are not so easy and comfortable.

to visit these districts most strenuously; so that at last accompanied by one Kurd, I set off secretly. The journey through these inhospitable desert parts, which are rendered unsafe by numerous hordes of robbers, lasted three days; and on the very first day I found out how dangerous it was. The burning heat of the sun obliged me to take off a portion of my dress; when suddenly my guide sprang towards me, covered me with my clothes, and ordered me to throw myself upon the ground. The fearful Simoom, the wind of the desert, of which the Bible speaks no doubt by the name of *Keteph Meriri*,¹ passed over us. The devastating effects of this scorching hurricane are well known.

After a journey of three days through a desert, I came from Mosul to Akra at the foot of the Chair-mountain, where about 100 Jewish families reside. Their Elder Elijah bears the ancient title of Nassi; which title is generally borne by the Elders of all the Jewish communities in the East.

Around the town are fruitfull and well cultivated fields. Olive and date trees as well as vines grow upon the declivities; a considerable portion of them belong to the Jewish community. In the middle of the fields, about half an hour's journey from the town, stands a Synagogue, remarkable for its great age; near by is a small reservoir, which serves as a bath for the women. Formerly the women there were exposed to frequent attacks from the Kurds; several facts were narrated to me, of which I will here mention a few.² One day a woman was surprised while in the bath by four Kurds, — she had however the courage to seize a large piece of wood, and to throw it at the head of one of the men, and thereby killed him on the spot. For this her own life was the penalty; for the three other Kurds murdered her. How sublime is this heroic and noble

¹ Numbers XXXII. 24. — Psalm XCI. 6. — Jesaiah XXVIII. 2. — The Talmud in several places.

² The same kind of thing took place in France, as the Sefer Hajaschar of Rab. Tam Fol. 74, tells us.

mind ed courage of this daughter of our race who was willing to die for her religion! Another woman was seized by a Kurd; she defended herself and snatched from him a dagger which she buried in his side. A friend of the wounded man accidentally passing by, saw him weltering in his blood: immediately seized upon the woman, and stabbed her.

Every afternoon before Vespers the Jews go to the river which flows near the Synagogue and partake there of a meal together, and then perform their devotions. Many of our brethren there are very wealthy, and their condition has become more tolerable since they have been under the Turkish dominion.

The tract of land is under the control of a Pacha from Mosul, appointed by the Turkish Government. These Pachas are very arbitrary in their character and exact taxes and gifts from those under their jurisdiction in the most barefaced and lawless manner. All the inhabitants speak Kurdish, with the exception of the Cadi, who speaks Turkish. The Kurds have preserved their independance of character as well as their old habits and customs; and the only token of their subjection to the Ottoman Porte consists in their payment of a moderate tribute. This tribute is very easily paid by them altho' they are poor, as it only amounts to a mere trifle.

Birsani.

From Akra I proceeded over the Chair-mountain to Birsani. No caravans pass through the recesses of the mountains I wished to explore. The locality is the most desolate and dismal that can be imagined; it is, so to say, the very heart of the deserts, little known even to the dwellers of the country, and but seldom visited. Rocky mountains and deep hollows in which enormous hordes of robbers conceal themselves, are the principal features of this

wilderness. The traveller is very frequently attacked when he least expects it, as the robbers are very expert and cunning and hide themselves so systematically that the wayfarer cannot dream of any danger until he is suddenly and unawares pounced upon. It was only with the greatest trouble that we could advance, and we were always compelled to be on our guard, as we were not safe for a moment. At last we reached the ancient town of Birsani,¹ built on the summit of a mountain. About 200 Jewish families live here, whose Nassi is Mailum Jacob. I remained in the town only sufficiently long to collect information respecting the community. I remarked that, according to the observance there of religious customs, there was no proper bath for the women, as is prescribed by the religious laws, and I made representation upon this subject to the Elders of the community, when it was promised that this deficiency should be supplied. The ignorance of our Jewish brethren here is so great that they are not even capable of reciting a prayer; and nowhere, I must confess with pain, did I find them in such a debased state, and sunk in such moral turpitude, as here.

In company with a brother Israelite named Jonas, son of the Nassi Mailum Jacob of Birsani, and a Kurdish guide belonging to the Nestorian tribe, I left the town. In about 12 hours we ascended the steep wooded mountain Zibari, called by the Kurds Baris. On gaining the summit, the Kurdish guide called out to me, „Tam Turah!“ (the mountain is ascended), words, which are derived from the Chaldaic, from which language the Kurds — as I remarked during my travels in the mountains — mix many expressions with their own; for instance, Malka (the king), Malketa (the queen), and others which are to be found in Ezra. On the whole desert way to this mountain I found but very few wild fruits and nuts; instead of these a very good salad, which is eaten by many of the inhabitants without any pre-

¹ The town lies upon a hill between the Chair- and Zibari-Mountains.

paration. From the summit of the mountain the eye is refreshed by an extensive view into deep vallies, scattered villages and fruitful smiling plains, in which, surrounded by gardens, rise the tents of the wandering Kurds. We spent 6 hours in descending Zibaring. Among the Nomads, dwelling at the foot of the mountain, I found four Jewish families by whom I was received with hearty and almost child like joy; and they assured me at the same time that never before had a Jewish European traveller been seen or heard of here. The Jews of this part labor under a heavy yoke; the condition of the Nestorian Christians is on the contrary more endurable.

Sindu. — Journey in the mountain.

After a further march of four hours through a beautiful and fruitful country abundantly watered, I reached the town of Sindu. The Jews, of whom there are about 250 families, occupy a separate quarter of the town. Their Nassi is Mailum Manasseh. Sindu lies on a plain surrounded by a chain of mountains, from which rush down numerous streams. Toil and deep privation of every description had so weakened me that I was attacked by a violent fever. — Without any medical assistance, which is there quite unknown, I could not even get any soup; for which the language of the country has no expression; and I was left alone to my own good constitution, which again helped me through. When I felt somewhat better, I was conducted one day at my desire out of the town to inhale a little fresh air. Near to the place where we were walking I noticed a Jewess washing some raiments in a tank, and I asked her why she did not use for this purpose the clear water of the stream, to which she replied, that the water in the tank was hot. When the woman had left the spot, to the great astonishment of my guide, I plunged into the healing bath; by the

repeated use of which for a few days I was altogether restored to convalescence. — Later I pointed out to the inhabitants of the place the great use of these warm springs; for they had no idea of the healing power of the water, and were astonished at my daily baths. Those who have never resorted to the warm bath can form no idea of its healing properties particularly in the East. A continual bathing for a few days is sufficient to restore a debilitated constitution. Another circumstance which greatly contributed to my recovery was a fine medicine they brought me, consisting of some dried stalks of a plant like in smell to the hyssop, from which I prepared an infusion which greatly benefitted me. I was also told that as an effective remedy for head ache they made use of different herbs growing there, which they boiled in water; and the leaves of a certain shrub were used as a remedy for sickness. In the memorandum-book of which I was plundered, I had written down the names of these plants; but I was unable to find any more of them on my journies on foot.

In order to celebrate my recovery a festival was arranged by the members of the community. At this festival my future good health was drank by all present who I must say evinced a desire for my prosperity which afforded me unmixed delight. I shall never forget it. I then remained several days in the town, and had an opportunity of deciding a peculiar case which I relate as a proof how bad the condition of the people is with regard to the observation of the commands of religion.

As a Chacham from Jerusalem I was asked my advice by a man, who accused his wife of indifference towards him. On my nearer enquiry, the young woman began such a long winded tedious excuse, that it was impossible for me to understand the state of the case. I learned however from her answer that her marriage was opposed to religious laws, and I gave her a special hearing. I asked the woman whether at her marriage she was maid, widow or divorced, to which she answered that she was neither the one nor the

other, but that she was married. Her husband had gone over to the Moslem faith, and therefore she was able to marry an other. — I then turned to the accusing husband, and asked him how he had dared against all commands and laws of religion to marry a woman whose husband was still alive, — to which he told me that his father, the Mailum of the community, had given him permission to do so.

I then sent for the Mailum, and had a conversation with him which lasted two days, in which I cited all the Mosaic precepts bearing on the case, and tried to prove that before the second marriage, it would have been necessary to have a legal separation from the former husband. The Mailum on his part, insisted upon the force of local custom, and maintained that the woman was freed from her marriage vows in consequence of the first husband having deserted her, that the marriage contract was thereby completely dissolved, and that the marriage contracted by Kidduschin (putting on of the wedding ring) became invalid, as it could not be considered binding with regard to any but a member of the Jewish faith. — I however stated that this could only be correct if the man was not originally a Jew; and my proofs and quotations brought it so far that the Mailum Manasseh and Mailum Isaac agreed with me, and as the Mailum of the community now stood alone against the general opinion, he promised to induce the first husband to consent to a divorce, which was obtained on payment of a certain sum of money. I then informed the young woman that after the separation from her first husband, and my declaration that the second marriage was invalid, she could only marry a third husband, and left them all in a state of great satisfaction. They promised me that the woman should act in every respect according to the instructions I had given and I do not doubt but that they did so judging from the pleasure they felt and manifested on hearing my decision.

My weakened frame did not allow me to go further into the mountains, and I therefore returned to Birsani, in order to see if the promised bath for the women had been

built. The community was assembled, the bath was soon arranged, and was solemnly consecrated; after which I made several improvements in their rites and ceremonies which were not according to with our customs and rules. For this they sincerely thanked me and thereby afforded me proof that they have our Holy Religion at heart.

At the conclusion of an entertainment which was given in my honour, the chief Elder addressed me in the following language: „Chacham! thou art our teacher, thou art like a crown upon our head. The Lord hath brought thee to us, to keep us from sin, and the truth has become known to us through thy knowledge. The belief in thy high mission is the more strong in us, because thou hast refused all the presents which have been offered thee. — One favor however we pray thee to grant us, which thou canst not refuse!“

To this I answered that if it only depended on myself, I would promise to grant it, after which the chief Elder continued: „Well then, near to Urmia in the mountains, on the side of Lower Persia, live many brethren of our faith, who, ignorant as we are, share our desire for instruction, in order to advance in the path of truth. They are aware of thy being here, and wait for thee impatiently. We pray that thou wilt not frustrate their hopes. Go, and seek them out, and thou wilt perform a work pleasing in the eyes of the Most High; for it will tend to the benefit of the unhappy children of Israel.“

I promised to undertake this journey, and begged for an escort; upon which twelve of the chief men, among whom was the Nassi himself, begged to be allowed to accompany me. After that four strangers, emissaries of the communities I was to visit, were brought in; they greeted me with tears of joy, and entreated me to follow them immediately. I informed them I was ready to do so, and they departed at midnight for their own homes, in order to announce there my coming, and to send an armed escort to meet me.

In the early part of July 1848 I set off attended by several Jews and by some Kurds, who had hired mules for

us. The difficulties and dangers of the road are indescribable. During two days we could only advance one at a time on a small narrow road, on which no ray of the sun ever shines, while the thorns tore our clothes and our feet. Hardly had we left this difficult path, when we were assailed by about 50 Kurds with whom we had a desperate skirmish; after a long and firm resistance our pursuers fled, taking their wounded with them.

On the third day we came to a river, which flows at the foot of a mountain; there we wished to rest ourselves, when we perceived eight Jews, who came to meet us as emissaries; their Nassi Mailum Jehuda was among them. They lifted me on their backs, and thus we reached the summit of the mountain, where they put me down near a Kurdistan village. Here four Jewish families live, to whose Mailum Benjamin they conducted me. Towards evening six more emissaries arrived, under the guidance of Mailum Asunah, and the next morning several came from other villages. On my enquiries respecting divine service I found that many of their rules did not agree with the precepts of the Law, and I called their attention to the chief Elder from whom I obtained a promise to follow out the improvements and arrangements I had suggested in this respect.

Shortly after my arrival, an event occurred which may serve to give an idea of the state of things in these countries, and which obliged me immediately to resume my journey.

In the village, a man had assumed the title of Mailum. During my stay I found that in more than one place an impostor had assumed the title of Mailum, and without any authority or right officiated as slaughterer. At my recommendation he was deprived of his office. This appointment he had purchased for a yearly sum from a Kurdish chief, who now perceiving the injury done to his pecuniary interest, came to me himself, and asked me who I was, and what right I had to discharge an officer appointed by him. My companions explained to him that I was a Chacham of

Bet-el-Mikdass, sent out to look over the proper administration of the religious laws among the Jews. I myself made him attentive to the fact that a Marabut, who ventured to take upon himself this title and these functions among the Mahometans, would certainly be immediately deprived of his office. To this the Kurd had no reply to make, further than the exclamation: „That is true, — but you have deprived me of my income, and you shall pay for it with your head.“ He then went out in a rage.

My companions, and those of my people who had also heard this threat, were deeply grieved; for they knew that such threats were never spoken in vain. We were immediately afterwards informed by some Jews that several armed men were lying in wait for us, for the purpose of delivering up my head to their chief. During the whole evening I reflected on our difficult position and the way in which we could escape the danger which threatened us. At last the following idea struck me. „Remain together“, I said to my brethren, „sing and make a noise, but bring in no light. The Kurds will have no suspicion, and my companions will escape with me.“ — My proposal was approved of; but we were not to go out all together, but two or three at a time, and then meet at an preconcerted spot.

Our flight happily succeeded, as we took another road through the desert and over the well wooded mountains, — but what fate befel those who remained behind, — whether their joyful songs were changed into songs of lamentation, — I dare not think. How my heart leaps for joy at the thought of my miraculous deliverance, I cannot find words to express my thanks to my almighty preserver gushed forth with a fervor that will long be impressed on my mind. I thank God in a manner that it would be well to imitate.

My escape soon became known; and armed men were sent after us in all directions. Had they met us we should unquestionably have been cruelly slaughtered. Some of them met us, but being few in number they were unable

to prevent our return to Birsani, at which place we arrived at the end of three days, safe but exhausted.

I had spent 55 days in these two expeditions to the Kurdistan mountains.

CHAPTER XI.

Mosul.

The ruins of Nineveh. — Tomb of the Prophet Jonah. — Erbil (Arbel). — Oppression of the Jews. — Relation of several facts.

The town of Mosul lies near the city of Nineveh, so renowned in olden times. Once more during my journey did I find myself among the shadows of the past. Great kings and mighty nations had dwelt here; cities, the enormous remains of which excite our admiration, still in their ruins baffle time, after a lapse of centuries. My imagination conjured up from beneath these gigantic ruins generations long since passed away, and from this solemn and noble tomb of antiquity I drew forth pictures full of strength and life.

Even to this day the great extent and something of the site of the old celebrated city, whose ruins along the shore of the Tigris cover the country to within eight hours' journey of Mosul are to be seen. At every footstep can be found fallen and shattered palaces and buildings formed of enormous pieces of rock of unusual height, which appear to have been raised by the hands of giants; caves of extraordinary form, and dwellings hewn out of the rock, which, according to tradition, are said to have been used as store-

rooms. The traditions I gathered from various sources and on comparing different statements I found them agree. On both shores of the Tigris stand, opposite to each other, the remains of two magnificent colonnades of immense stones, which are supposed to have been the gates of ancient Nineveh. It is from here that many relics of the past have been transferred to the various parts of Europe to be placed in the Museums. Many curiosities here meet the eye of the traveller and afford food for study. Antique vases in different forms and sizes, some of them with illegible inscriptions, are to be seen within three hours' journey of Mosul, pointing in an origin dating up to the time of the building of the Tower of Babel, or at least to the time of King Sennacherib.

The centre of ancient Nineveh is said to form a village, which is about half an hour's distance from Mosul. In this village is shewn a tomb, which the people here assert is that of the Prophet Jonah,¹ who was sent forth for the conversion of the rebellious city. The tomb lies in a court yard, in which, according to the assertion of the Mahometans, the noted Kikajon (gourd) grows afresh every year, the leaves of which once afforded shade to the prophet.² The Arabs honour this tomb most devoutly, and pray there especially for their sick. The earth which covers the grave is considered sacred; and little bags containing some of it are worn round the neck, and are considered as a very powerful talisman. The Christians as well as the Jews are forbidden to visit this grave.

In the town of Mosul dwell nearly 450 Jewish families,³ who have no reason to complain of their condition; several

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 44 says that the tomb of the Prophet Jonah is in Palestine, on Mount Zipore near the city.

² Jonah c. IV. 6.

³ Benjamin de Tudela p. 52 speaks of 7000 Jews. — Pethachia p. 171 mentions 6000 Jews. — *Ritter's Erdkunde* Vol. 11, p. 211 counts according to Niebuhr 150 Jewish houses

among them are engaged in very great commercial transactions. These Jews received me very hospitably; indeed I was quite delighted with the welcome they gave me. The Synagogue is large, but contains nothing remarkable, except that behind the sacred shrine is a cave, which is said to have been inhabited by the Prophet Elijah.¹ Three Chachamim exercise the judicial and civil offices; the eldest Chacham, Rackamim, the second Chacham, Sason and the third Chacham, David, are all three of the family of Birsani, who appear to have originally come from the city of that name. The ignorance of the population is extreme: a school however is established, in which the children receive religious instruction; the teacher Mordecai, son of the Chacham David, is a relation of the money changer Isaac Zellem, with whom I lodged.

Industry flourishes here; the light transparent tissues, which appear as if made by fairy hands, the celebrated muslins, take their name from this city. Hence they were first sent to Europe, and their manufacture there attained a perfection which enhanced their value.

Mosul is like all other Arabian cities; the houses have only one story, are furnished with a terrace, and have no windows towards the street. The town is on two sides guarded by mountains, while by the third side flows the Tigris, the fourth adjoins the coast. Numerous mineral springs exhaling a strong smell of sulphur, spring up in the vicinity. On account of the heat of the climate the day is passed in covered rooms situated in the court, for the same reason the water could not be used if it were not collected in cisterns, or preserved in bluish white earthenware vessels, which keep it cool and fresh. The interior of the houses is peculiar; the rooms are long and narrow; on the floor lie cushions spread on thick carpets; mattresses are used

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 52 speaks of three Synagogues; namely that of the Prophet Obadiah, that of the Prophet Jonah, and that of the Prophet Elijah.

to sleep upon. — The population consists of Turks, Jews and Armenians; next to the Turkish, the Arabian language is most generally practised. Turks and Jews wear the same kind of dress, — a red fez or a coloured turban, the women an oriental head-dress, which is ornamented with gold and pearls. A long tunic covers the body, and they wear a kind of sandal; the hands and legs are decorated with rings of gold and silver, and almost all the women and many of the men wear rings in their ears and through the nose. On going out the women throw a veil over their heads. This custom is of very great antiquity, we find it frequently alluded to in the Bible.

In Mosul reside the Consuls of England and France, of whom the latter during my stay had much influence among the authorities. I placed myself under his protection, and confess with gratitude, that his care for me deserves all praise.

After a stay of a month at Mosul I set out with a caravan for Erbil¹ which the Jews consider to be the Resen mentioned in the Bible.² Midway flows the stream El Kebir, which forms the boundary between the Pachalic of Mosul and Bagdad: it is a rapid rushing stream, which empties itself into the Tigris. The water abounds with an immense number of an reddish kind of fish, said to be excellent eating; some of them attain a weight of 200 lbs. I myself never tasted these fish; when I say they are good for eating, I beg to be understood as speaking from hearsay. I gave it upon reliably authority.

Erbil is divided into two parts; of which the one on the mountain side is the city, the other, in the vast plain

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 52 says that Erbil is an hour's journey from Mosul. I do not know however which road the traveller could have taken, as by the nearest route it is two days' journey.

² Genesis c. X. 12. According to Benjamin de Tudela p. 64 this town lies near to Bagdad, at two days' journey's distance from it.

is the seat of trade and commerce. One hundred and fifty Jewish families dwell here, whose Nassi is Mailum Mordecai; they are however much oppressed by the fanatic, rude and half civilised sects of Allah, of which I will relate some examples. I heard the account of this martyrdom from all the Jews I came in contact with, they all agreed.

A short time before my arrival a Jewish girl emptying some dirty water into the street, accidentally besprinkled with it a Mussulman who chanced to be passing by. Immediately a crowd assembled before the house, broke open the door, seized the girl, and heaped upon her all kinds of threatening abuse; asking her, how she, the daughter of an accursed race, dare offer to insult a true believer. The girl defended herself to the best of her ability, but the leader of the tumult cried out to her: „There is only one way for thy escape, embrace our faith, and thou shalt marry one of our people, who is young, handsome, rich, and of a good family.“ But the girl refused and answered: „I am a Jewess, born so, and as such I will die; never will I deny my God, my people and my faith. If you kill me, God will require of you my blood, and the Lord will avenge me.“ — After that they seized her, killed her before the eyes of her parents by stabbing her with their knives, and then tore her in pieces. — The community intended at first to prefer a complaint before the Pacha of Bagdad and afterwards at Constantinople, but they refrained from doing so for fear of other persecutions and of a general massacre.

How frightful must the condition of our brethren be in these parts, when they dare not seek justice for such outrages!

Draw near, mothers and daughters of my people, draw near and learn the greatness of her who dwelt here. See what was done by an ignorant and perhaps, as you might feel inclined to call her, uneducated and unrefined girl who knew nothing of the pomps and vanities of European culture, who perhaps was not able even to write. Have you so educated your daughters and strengthened them in

the sacred laws that they are worthy to be called the sisters of this heroic girl? If you have not, take my advice and commence at once, it is your bounden duty to do so. Inspire them with a warm zeal for our Holy and sacred religion. Teach them the whole importance of the Biblical precept: Thou shall love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might. And altho' you, thanks to a kind providence live in a country where you enjoy civil and religious liberty, do not imagine that as there is never any necessity for such sacrifices, that you may slacken in your duty of teaching your children that it is their duty rather to sacrifice their lives than deny the existence of their one true and only God the Creator of heaven and earth.

In the same year Rabbi Perachia, a deputy of the Portuguese Jews at Jerusalem, who was sent out to receive the charitable alms for the poor Jews of Jerusalem, died at Erbil, and was buried with all the honours belonging to his sacred office. The night following the burial the Mussulmen tore the body out of the grave, cut off a hand, and threw the remains into an open ditch, without even a covering. The Jews repaired to the burial ground, and filled up the empty grave: this was all they ventured to do. The daily occurrence of such oppression has crushed them to such a degree, and the fear of still greater calamities is so great, that they yield to anything without a murmur. But at the time of this occurrence several Jews from Bagdad were at Erbil, and informed the European Consuls of the matter; for the Rabbi whose grave had been desecrated, was an Austrian citizen. By this means this deed of infamy came to the ears of the Pacha, who had the culprits brought before him, and addressed them in the following words: „Do you not know that graves are prisons, in which God preserves his people until the day of judgment? Why do you not respect what belongs to Him?“ — After that judicial enquiries were instituted, and the grave-desecrators would have received the punishment they merited, if the

Jews of Erbil had not been compelled to beg that mercy might be shewn them, which was accorded.

Another proof of religious oppression causes especial astonishment, because the intolerance of the Mussulmans does not otherwise cross the threshold of the house of God. The Jews of the lower part of the town had erected a new Synagogue, and wished to convey solemnly into it, according to custom, the manuscripts of the Law. On the road they were met by Mussulmen, several of them killed, others wounded, and the new Synagogue pulled down. Since then a second Temple has been built; but at the solemn carrying of the Pentateuch into it, the same scenes have been repeated. On this occasion several valuable lives were lost and the Mailum himself was severely wounded.

I myself was a witness to the last disturbance, and can with justice proclaim the state of my brethren in Erbil to be a most unendurable one. They find a feeble compensation in unrestricted freedom of trade, for therein they are perfectly free and unmolested. All are sunk into a state of great ignorance: the Schochet is the chief of the community.

The dress, customs and language of the inhabitants of Erbil resemble those of Mosul; the Jews speak Arabic.

After resting for several days I took the resolution of investigating the north-west part of the mountains of Kurdistan in the direction of Persia, and of going through a number of Jewish and Kurdish tribes, which had never been visited by an European. Sometimes Chachamim from Jerusalem go there; but the greater number of these pilgrims fall victims to their courage and devotion. I shall in the proper place in this work relate all the hardships I had to endure, the hair breadth escapes I had. I however endured them all for the purpose of ascertaining information of my brethren in those parts and the Almighty who looketh to the heart approved of my intention and gave me success.

CHAPTER XII.

Third journey to the mountains of Kurdistan. — Passage over the Pirmām-mountain. — Rowandis. — Oppressed state of the Jews there; curious custom.

For the third time I ventured into these wild and dangerous mountains, into this primitive land, where the name of Europe is scarcely known, and into which only a fearless traveller, used to dangers, difficulties and deprivations of every kind who devotes himself entirely to the purpose of his journey, dares to penetrate. These regions have been unexplored until now; and yet in many ways are they well worthy of investigation. Dare I hope that my having penetrated into these regions may act as an incentive to others to follow my example, I doubt not they would discover many important things.

In company of a Kurdish guide I passed in two and a half days from Erbil over the Pirmām-mountain, which lies to the north of the town; it is a desert tract of land, full of cavities and hollows inhabited by robbers. I happily succeeded in overcoming all obstacles without any molestation and arrived at the town of Rowandis.

It lies on a very high mountain, at the foot of which flows the foaming stream Rowandis. The Jews of that city, in which for centuries they have only been exposed to insult and misery, having lately come under the dominion of the Turkish Government, now find their condition somewhat better. Their dress is more decent, their houses are better built, and certainly better kept than in other parts of the mountain. Formerly they had not only to bear the whole

cruelty of the Kurds, but were even sold like cattle, and attacked in that which to them is most sacred — their faith. Thus for instance on New Year's day, when the Schofar (the horn, which, according to the Mosaic law, is blown on New Year's day) sounded in the Synagogue (I need not remind my leaders that on the seventh month and first day of the months the horn is blown in all Jewish Synagogues in accordance with the Biblical command), the Kurds rushed into the Temple, attacked the women and maltreated them, broke the symbolic trumpet, and compelled the Jews to desist from their ceremony. The Turkish Government has put a stop to such uproar and disorder; but in the more remote villages, where it is more difficult to watch over them, the Jews still have to endure every kind of ill usage, although not sold as slaves. In many towns and in Rowandis, which, as I have already mentioned, is under the Turkish Government, are still to be found, remains of the old oppression — vassalage — in some cases with the knowledge of the Mutesellim (burgomaster), though the Pacha dwelling in Bagdad is ignorant of it. The Turkish chiefs compel men and women to break stones, to burn lime, mould tiles &c. and all this to the glory of the Lord. Our poor brethren think that it is their destiny to suffer, and submit patiently to their fate; the slightest amelioration of which they consider an unexpected happiness. Some of them enjoy a certain degree of wealth; and in particular the Nassi of the place, Mailum Nassim, is rich in landed property and herds, besides having two wives and several children. The Jewish community on the whole is very ignorant, and has no Rabbi; the son in law of the Nassi, the Schochet Mailum Samuel, certainly bears the title of Rabbi, but understands at most only how to superintend divine service in the Synagogue. Only the Rabbi prays aloud, so that the prayer Schemone Esra, which as is known, is first repeated by every member of the congregation to himself, and is then repeated aloud by the Rabbi, is there only recited once by the Rabbi.

An other curious custom is that on New Year's day, after the ceremony of the *Taschlich* (prayer at the waters). This ceremony is practised likewise in many parts of Europe. It is a more symbolical act. They go to the stream flowing at the foot of the mountain, recite there the prayer, and throw themselves into the water and swim about. They imagine that by this bath they are cleansed from all their sins, quite forgetting the new sin they commit in taking the bath itself; as such an act is forbidden on festival days.¹ — I made several remonstrances concerning it, and an improvement with respect to it was promised.

Rowandis is a place engaged in agriculture; grain and cattle are the commodities of trade.

After a difficult march of two days I arrived at Choi-Sandjack to the east of Rowandis. The Jewish population there consists of about 70 families, who live in a less oppressed condition than those at Rowandis. Some of them are occupied in agricultural pursuits, and some in trade. The inhabitants of this place are more industrious than those of the former.

Thus ended my travels in Kurdistan. In my three expeditions to these wild and inhospitable regions I had exposed myself such frequent and manifold dangers, that I would not attempt further impossibilities. Thanks be to the Almighty who allowed me to return in safety after encountering so many hardships.

¹ *Messechet Sabat* p. 1. — *Mischna* 1 — *Hallochot Sabat* in the *Schulchan Aruch* Vol. 1, art. 339, v. 2. — *Hallochot Jontoph* art. 524, v. 1.

CHAPTER XIII.

I. Descent of the Kurdish Jews, The Nestorians. — II. Vassalage and imports. — III. Slavery. — IV. Claims of the master. — V. State of ignorance respecting religion. — VI. Industry and labour. — VII. Biblical precepts, which the Jews and other nations follow. — VIII. Review of the whole in a religious and moral point of view. Observations respecting the customs practised against the Mosaic law.

In beginning this chapter, I feel the whole importance of the task I have imposed on myself. Truth, which I have often sought at the cost of so many sacrifices (what these were, the kind reader will already have discovered from a perusal of what precedes), at length appears to glimmer before me, and the darkness, which has so long rested on the past of the lost ten tribes of Israel, begins to vanish. But again almost insurmountable difficulties rise up before me, caused by the want of every historical vestige and record which could offer certain evidence, undiscoverable hitherto. In the absence of such proofs I have collected together my own researches and observations, and through them have come to some conscientious conclusions, which, to me, have assumed the value of authentic facts. — After my second journey — which by God's help I shall soon undertake — I hope by more accurate researches to render them more clear and complete. The result of these researches I shall place before the public at the earliest possible opportunity after my arrival from my second journey, if the Almighty spare my life.

I.

If one gives credit to the Jews and Nestorians, their settlement in these countries took place before the destruction of the first Temple.¹ The same traditions are everywhere preserved, and they assert, that the ancestors of our brethren, banished to these lands, continued there after the Assyrian captivity, and did not again return to Palestine. From this it follows, that they are descended direct from the ten tribes of Israel, who were transplanted here by the Assyrian kings from their own country. We find a proof of this in the history of the Kings, where it is related, that in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser conquered the kingdom of Israel, and carried away its inhabitants as captives into Assyria.² The whole of these particulars are to be found in Kings which the kind reader will do well to peruse as he will there find sources of information useful to him. It is more than probable that Kurdistan, a country bordering on Assyria, formed a part of that great Assyrian kingdom; for to this day it belongs to the Pachalic of Mosul, the capital of which, bearing the same name, joins the ancient Nineveh, the capital of Assyria. To the authority of the Bible is added the testimonies of later writers and the corroborative traditions which have been handed down for centuries. I see therefore no further doubt, nay, I cherish the firm belief that remnants of the ten tribes dwell in Kurdistan. Other well known travellers assert pretty much the same identical fact. Thus only some years since Mr. Grant, an American missionary, who investigated these regions asserted that Christians of the Nestorian sect resided at Kurdistan, adding that these Nestorians were direct descendants of the banished

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 77 says the same. — The book *Derech Emed* Fol. 16, p 1 translates the word *Touri Kardu* by „dark mountains“; from which perhaps originates the tradition of the Jews, that the banished ten tribes lived in the dark mountains.

² II. Kings XV. 29.

ten tribes of Israel, who only in later centuries had embraced the Christian faith. I rest my assertions on the following grounds:

1. Many Nestorians themselves maintain that they descend from the captive Jews, without however being able to determine either the period when they settled or the tribe from which they spring, as all written evidence is wanting, and they themselves are too ignorant to rely on any other proofs than their own traditions.

2. The Nestorians of the places which I visited live mostly in friendly relations with the Jews; whilst with the nomadic Kurds they have no transactions.

3. They are oppressed by the Kurds in the same way as are the Jews, which appears to be the result of the long captivity; a fate, which all banished nations carried into slavery share alike. The Nestorians assemble together for the performance of divine service in the same manner as our brethren do. They have no symbol, cross, or bells; and their principles in this respect resemble those of the Jews. They celebrate the Sabbath. It is an historical fact that the ten tribes possessed but few learned men, and that they easily became addicted up to strange worship, and adopted foreign customs and usages; therefore we may be well justified in the belief that these unhappy exiles, transplanted into unknown countries, and moving in a perfectly new and strange sphere, either willingly or unwillingly imitated those who had become their masters, and thus adopted their customs, manners and habits, particularly as being slaves, they were obliged to obey. If they were to show the slightest reluctance to obey orders, they would be punished in the most merciless and cruel manner. I have myself been an eye witness to the perpetration of many an act of cruelty. Thus it is quite possible that up to a certain extent the Jews have mixed and could mix with the primitive settlers of Kurdistan. — I myself hold them to be the descendants of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphthali. (See II. Kings XV. 29. Isaiah IX. 1.)

Kurdistan belongs more in name than in reality to the Turkish kingdom. The inhabitants of the mountains entrenched behind those walls with which nature has provided them, hold fast to their peculiar habits and customs, laws and traditions. Thus they adhere to their own life of freedom, paying the Sultan a small yearly tax, and that only of their own accord. They form a kind of union of independent tribes, each governed by its own chief. These tribes are again subdivided into families, and live generally in sanguinary skirmishes and feuds with each other.

II.

The Jews scattered here and there, and forced to remain at the places assigned to them, are in the true sense of the word, surrounded by tribes of savages. One often finds five, ten, or even twenty Jewish families the property of one Kurd, by whom they are burdened with imposts, and subjected to illtreatment. Heavy taxes are imposed upon them, which, for the poorest, amount annually to 500 piastres. Finally they are compelled at different periods of the year to perform serf-service, to cultivate their master's field, without receiving or being entitled to demand the smallest compensation for their labour. This is really an awful state of affairs and with heart and soul do we sympathise with these our distressed correligionists and we felt deeply grieved that it was not in our power to help them.

III.

The master has the absolute power of life and death over his slaves; at his will he can sell them to another master, either in whole families or individually. If a gentleman on horseback meets a Jew or a Nestorian on the road, he makes him run before him to the stable door, without even once allowing him stop to take breath. This barbarous custom is practised almost daily.

IV.

A custom, which reminds one of the old feudal barbarism of the middle ages, is the so called master's claims.— When a young Jew or Nestorian wishes to marry, he must purchase his bride from the master to whom she belongs; for by the marriage compact the young wife comes under the control of another master, and through that, the former master suffers the loss of the yearly poll tax, for which a sum is always asked as compensation. Besides this, the bride, before she enters the house of her husband, must place herself at the disposal of her master, which appears to have been an old custom first made use of by the Orientalists; for even the Talmudists speak of it.¹

Only within the last few years has this odious abuse been reformed, and changed into a money payment. A sanguinary event was the cause of this. A young girl, after a desperate encounter having killed her master. One abuse has therefore taken the place of another: for now the master's claims must be bought off.

V.

The Jews, who inhabit the places round Kurdistan, scarcely know even the Mosaic law by name. But very few of them can read, and their only religious knowledge consists of Kriath Schema (Schema Israel),² of which however they only know the first verse. For some time past bibles and prayer books have been sent to them from Bagdad. Their Mailum possess Schoulchan Aruch Beth Joseph (the collection): everything else is unknown to them, and the whole of their divine service is comprised in some performance of ancient ceremonies which are mechanically and superstitiously gone through. Of the true import character and meaning of the beautiful ceremonies of our religion they

¹ Messechet Ketubot Fol. 3, p. 2.

² Deuteronomy VI. 4.

have not the slightest knowledge. I explained to them that God requires the heart, not lip-service.

I have here to mention an old traditional custom, which is observed in Kurdistan, as well as in the whole of the East. When a woman approaches the time of her confinement, sweet smelling perfumes are strewn on a pan of burning coals, with which first the Synagogue and then the chamber, in which the mother expectant is lying, are fumigated. The Kurdish Israelites say that thus they present to the Lord a well pleasing sacrifice, and that the offering itself, the perfume, rises as in the Temple at Jerusalem. True it is that the Talmudists speak of it, and mention a mill at Burne, in which different sweet smelling stuffs were ground. In the *Messechet Sanhedrin* chap. 4, fol. 29, p. 2, Raschi explains the text, adding that sweet smelling herbs were used to cure the wound caused by circumcision. Thus in the same *Messechet* is to be found the expression *Schewua habben* (week of the son); and this may well be the same as that which is at this time used, and the pronunciation only of which differs somewhat from the above mentioned. For during the space of a whole week, from the birth to the circumcision of the son, the father is called *Avi habben* (father of the son), and is received in the Israelitish families, as well as in the Synagogue, with marks of respect. In our time the use of the herbs is different; but they are still used as incense. — This proves that a very ancient custom has been observed among the Israelites in the East up to the present day.

When a Chacham from Jerusalem comes into these parts, which occurs but very seldom, they go out solemnly to meet him, kiss his shoulders, his beard, and even his feet, according to the rank of him by whom he is saluted; they then carry him in triumph to the house of the Nassi, bare his feet and wash them, and the water used for that purpose is collected for drinking. I do not exaggerate anything in this account. I do not speak of this ceremony with approbation, indeed I condemn it and made no scruple in

letting the Jews here know my sentiments on the matter they however insisted and I had to yield. The highest people of the place have the first right to partake of this water; the rest is divided among the women and children; and this unclean beverage is considered to be a preventive of all illnesses. Notwithstanding my opposition, I was obliged to submit to this extraordinary mark of respect.

On week days the men only wear a shirt with a girdle round their waist, short pants, which only reach to the knee, and a little cap, round which is rolled a thin piece of black stuff; they likewise go barefoot. I inquired why they wore such garments, to which I received the answer, that it was more convenient for work. This reminded me of the sacrificial garments of the priests, who, according to the Mosaic law,¹ had to wear such light garments, in order to be able to perform the sacrifices quickly, which the wide and inconvenient Egyptian garments would have prevented; and in order at the same time to distinguish the priests from the laity; for only they were allowed to wear such a garb.

On the Sabbath they lay aside this dress, and wear a long dark robe of woollen cloth. This robe is buttoned from the neck down to the girdle, from which it falls in two large flaps down to the knees; the sleeves extend to the wrist and are quite tight. Only the richest wear shoes, the others generally leathern sandals.

The women wear a coloured vest; round the head they fold a cloth or a piece of stuff, from beneath which their black hair falls down to the shoulders. They go barefooted, but decorate their hands, arms and feet with gold and silver rings; sometimes they wear through the nose a ring, which hangs down to the mouth.

VI.

The different woollen stuffs, which are manufactured by the Jews in Kurdistan, are likewise exported into foreign

¹ Leviticus VIII. 13. XVI. 4.

parts. This is a branch of trade, which many of them cultivate most industriously. They likewise make carpets. Their looms are extremely simple: on two pieces of wood, which are placed in the ground, at a certain distance from each other, they make good and even splendid stuffs. A portion of the higher classes devote themselves to the culture of the soil; one sees them going in the morning with their wives and children into fields and vineyards, from which they only return in the evening. Instead of pressing the grapes, they satisfy themselves with drying them for their own use. The harvest is enough for their necessary wants, and but few fruit trees are planted. I was much gratified to find that a spirit of industry and enterprise seemed here to have taken possession of my correligionists here, they seemed to vie with each other as to who should be most industrious.

The houses constructed of wicker work, have a very bare appearance; they are tolerably high, have one story, and inside and outside are daubed with a kind of mortar. In summer they sleep upon the terraces, in order to escape the bites of scorpions, which, during this time of the year, are frequently to be found in the houses at night. Food is so badly prepared, that it would excite the disgust of the poorest European.

VII.

Wherever I went during vintage and harvest time, I found a custom strictly observed by the Jews and Kurds, which brought to my mind the precepts of the Bible.¹ Neither the ears of corn, nor the grapes nor fruits are wholly collected; but the portion of the widows and orphans is always left: it is even allowed to go into a ripe cornfield, to *break* the sheaves, and there and then to boil the corn in water; but the ears of corn must not be cut,² neither may

¹ Leviticus s. XIX. 9. 10.

² Deuteronomy c. XXIII. 26.

they be carried away. In the same way grapes are allowed to be gathered in the vineyards, and to be eaten there.¹

The first fruits of all kinds, which the Jews present to their Mailum, and the Turks to their Cadi, are placed in baskets made of date and other leaves, and according to my view remind one of the offerings, which in olden times the Jews made to their priests.

This custom of offering the first fruits to the Mailum is of very great antiquity. It dates back to the most remote times mentioned in the Bible to which refer.

Besides this, there are several other customs in accordance with the Bible, which are practised in a very pious manner; some of which I will mention here.

If a dead body is found in a field between two districts, the authorities of the different places around go to the spot, in order to find out by accurate measurement, to which city or to which village it was found nearest, and that place must pay the price of blood to the family of the deceased. If in this measurement they are not able to agree, a quarrel and fight ensues, and the place itself is often sprinkled afresh with blood.² — The Jews, who are obliged to take part in these combats, behave with much bravery; and when one of their own people fall, and there is no family to require the price of blood, they carry him away, and bury him in the Jewish burial ground.

It is usual to bury the bodies found in an open field, on the spot where they are discovered; and this pious custom accounts for the great number of graves one meets with on the roads. They are the resting-places of those who have been struck by sudden death, among whom are many travellers and missionaries.

A custom observed throughout the whole of the East by the followers of every religious sect is, to take off the shoes on entering the house of God. This also reminds one

¹ Deuteronomy c. XXIII. 25.

² Deuteronomy c. XXI. 1. 2. 9.

of the precepts of the Bible. Any one who refuses to render this mark of respect is not allowed to enter the Sanctuary.¹

One of the usages, which has been strictly followed by the Jews and Kurds from the oldest times up to the present day is the refraining from eating pork. The use of fat in general in this climate is productive of disagreeable and serious illnesses; and I have known Jews, who, from the constant use of olive oil, have been covered with boils over the whole of the body; and sometimes the skin of the head is coated with a kind of scab, with which this disease has much similarity. Oil appears to have as food the very opposite effect upon the human constitution in the East to what it has in Europe. In England for example it is considered healthy and its frequent use by the Jews has been regarded by medical men of the greatest renown as the reason why during the time that the cholera raged there on the last occasion so few Israelites died of that fearful and horrible disease.

VIII.

The condition of the Jews in a religious, moral and social point of view is as follows: Their ignorance with regard to religion excites pity. Few among them can read or write, and in this they are far behind all our other cor-religionists whom I have met on my travels. Some Bibles and prayer books are certainly to be found in these desolate mountains; but few understand the use of them, and fewer still how to say their prayers. The elementary notions, and the knowledge of the grand ideas of their forefathers and brethren, are completely wanting in them; and in many places they have never even seen a Pentateuch.

Tradition only has preserved the celebration of the Sabbath and biblical festivals, as well as circumcision and the killing of animals; — but these sacred customs are performed so imperfectly and mechanically, that it can be

¹ Exodus c. III. 5. — Talmud Messechet Berachot Fol. 9.

distinctly seen that they neither know the purpose or the reason of them, and are utterly ignorant of what they are doing.

In a social point of view their condition is lamentable; for the greater number live in a state of most oppressed slavery. The Kurd owns no master; and in his stupidity and brutality assumes to himself the most unlimited rights, which no one can dispute with him. He acts as uncontrolled master over the property, life, and even the feelings of his Jewish slaves. The Nestorians are quite in the same condition as the Jews.

The poll tax, an unbearable burden, is not enough, — any trifling thing, any and every excuse is sufficient to jeopardise and disturb the existence of these unfortunate beings. They are illused, sold, and murdered, just as the master pleases. They eat the sad bread of exile, and moisten it with their tears and with their blood. I have visited hundreds of families living scattered in these mountains, and did not find one, which could get from this unendurable existence. I cannot express what I felt at the sight of all this misery, — for their low condition and their troubles are indescribable. — From attacks without they are sometimes powerfully protected; but this does not arise from generosity or from love of right; but is solely attributable to the advantage and personal interest of their selfish Kurdish masters.

In the districts of Kurdistan, which is now under the rule of the Sublime Port, the condition of the Jews is somewhat more endurable. — The Moslem appointed by the government have abolished slavery; the poll tax goes direct into the hands of the Pacha.

But the hour of justice and humanity for these unhappy ones is not yet come. When I was obliged unexpectedly to give up my second journey to the mountains of Kurdistan, and to leave my brethren there to save my own life, I was surrounded by the emissaries of four cities and of about thirty other places, which I had the intention to visit.

— How many others may there be in the other parts of this barbarous country, whose existence is hitherto unknown to the scientific investigator and to the world; — and who can tell how long this state of seclusion may still last!

In paragraph VII. I have mentioned several biblical commands which are observed in the East; and here, in conclusion, I add a number of customs, which contrary to the Mosaic law, have been interwoven since very remote times with the habits of these tribes.

In the account of my journey through Lebanon I mentioned the immoral customs practised among the Druse tribes living there, to which I here again refer.

The slave trade, that moral pest of the East, is carried on to a great extent, and is an essential part of the customs of these tribes.

In a word, all that our great Lawgiver forbade, the evils, which he foresaw and pointed out, and from which he wished to save our forefathers, rage to this day among these people. — Those who wish to understand the Bible and the Talmud, should first journey through the East and investigate it; — many a dark passage would then appear to them perfectly clear. I intend later perhaps to explain some points of the Talmud, which to a certain extent appear difficult. This I shall do with the assistance of the Almighty after my return from my second journey to the East.

CHAPTER XIV.

Manna. — The quails. — Naphtha (mountain oil). — Tombs of the Prophets Daniel, Ananias, Misael and Azarias. — Ceremonies and customs at these tombs. — Journey through the desert.

The town of Kirkuk on the Chaffeh sea is by the Jews regarded to be the ancient Calah¹ mentioned in the Bible, and this name is used to this day in all their public documents. The town is divided into two parts; of which the one is fortified, and situated on the summit of the mountain, and the other extends over the plain. The flat part of the town is the place for trade; and there our brethren in the faith dwell. This town made a very unfavorable, I might almost say a very depressing effect upon my mind. Everything appeared so very dilapidated.

The town presents an appearance which is unique of its kind. Hardly could a more badly shaped heap of stones be found sunk in a swamp, which, during the wet season, is quite covered with water. The town appears then but a complete morass, which no one ventures to enter. The houses are kept somewhat cleaner, and the foot is prepared better than in Kurdistan.

The vicinity of Kirkuk is very fertile, and, being well irrigated, only needs a careful cultivation. The inhabitants carry on an important trade in thread and cotton goods. The language of the country is Arabic; the dress generally worn is the Mahometan.

¹ Genesis c. X. 11.

Towards the months of November and December whole flights of quails come from different parts and alight here; they are about as large as a chicken when a week old, and cannot fly well. For this reason they are so easily caught, and taken in such great quantities, that they are sold for 2 paras (half a farthing) each. The Jews, as well as the other inhabitants of the place, eat these birds, and I myself did so; but their flavour is only good when they are young.

Another extraordinary appearance which reminds us of the journey of the Jews through the wilderness, is the manna which here, in the form of grain, descends with the dew. It has now been ascertained by travellers in the east, beyond the slightest shadow of doubt, that the manna is a distillation from trees which falls on the ground every morning. The grain is of a whitish colour, and hard to the touch. It is collected in vases at break of day, and placed in the sun; in the warmth of which it melts, and becomes a cheesy kind of substance in which state it is eaten with bread at breakfast. I found it sweet, like honey, and of an agreeable smell. The manna, which falls in the vicinity of Mount Sinai, which I have also tried, tastes still better; it is likewise placed in the sun to dissolve, and by this means it becomes hard like cooked honey. Manna is also found in the neighbourhood of Mosul and Bagdad; but there only the trees are covered, whilst at Kirkuk, all the fields and meadows are covered with it.

Another natural production which is of great use to the inhabitants, and likewise forms an article of foreign trade, is naphtha. The numerous swamps and ditches are covered with a thin blackish fluid, which is collected by the inhabitants, and represents naphtha in its natural state: it is used for lighting and other purposes, and has, in-burning, a very disagreeable smell.¹

¹ It is possible that this is the naphtha of which the Talmudists speak in the *Messechet Sabath* (div. 2). See *Ritter's Erdkunde* vol. 9. book 3, p. 555.

Between the upper and lower town, at the foot of the mountain, stands a building in the middle of the courtyard, containing four tombs. The first of these, to the left of the entrance near the wall, is, according to the dictum of the inhabitants, the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, while the other three tombs, which lie at some little distance, and are separated from each other, are regarded to be those of the Prophets Misael, Azarias and Ananias.¹ Scientific research has proven beyond a doubt that the tradition of Daniel and his Colleagues being buried here is true. Their tombs are held in the greatest reverence. They are small square sarcophagi, covered with a roof, and guarded by a wall of wood, which is in a tolerably good state of preservation, although it bears the traces of great age. The three companions of Daniel were, according to the Bible, cast by Nebuchadnezzar into a fiery furnace, from which they came out unscathed.² Illegible inscriptions cover these three sarcophagi, but none is to be observed on the tomb of Daniel. Perhaps the assertion of the inhabitants of Kirkuk is correct; as it dates from a tradition of the oldest times.

The tombs are in a state of good preservation, and but a short time since were ornamented with magnificent embroidered tapestries. The inhabitants, no matter what is their religion, make pilgrimages thither with the greatest respect. The Jews go there on the first day of the Feast

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 68 likewise speaks of these tombs; but says that they are situated an hour's journey from the tomb of the Prophet Ezechiel, of which we speak later. The tomb of Daniel he places at Schuschan. — Petachia p. 183 says the same. — In *Ritter's Erdkunde* Vol. 9, book 3, p. 583 the description of the four tombs corresponds with my account. P. 294—308 the same book says that the tomb of Daniel is in the bed of a river near Susa. The river was diverted from its course, a tomb of stones built out in its bed, and then the river allowed to flow back again. Tudela's assertion that Daniel's coffin hangs in a glass case by a chain in the middle of the bridge, is, p. 306, declared incorrect.

² Seder Hadoroth p. 36.

of weeks, the 6th Sivan (May), in order to say the Mussaph prayer; but they could give me no other reason for this custom, than its antiquity.

The belief in miracles, and superstition, of which the east has even been the cradle, finds more followers here than in any other place. These tombs are said to possess a miraculous healing power for all kinds of diseases; — men likewise flee to them for their mysterious interposition in the good result of important enterprises, and call upon them as guardian angels in all affairs of life. This general adoration has an advantageous influence on the condition of the Jews residing in the district sanctified by the protection of the tombs of Daniel and of his companions; for they are much less annoyed and oppressed by the half civilised inhabitants, than they are in other places. It is really much to be regretted that our brethren in these parts are so very superstitious. We wish it were otherwise.

After leaving Kirkuk, my road led me through a desolate and dismal wilderness. Immeasurable tracts of land without the least sign of vegetation, extending as far as the eye can see, and always extending further towards the horizon the closer one approaches, — drifting sand, raised by the slightest breath of air and forming hills, which are just as quickly dispersed, — a moving sea of dust, in which a caravan is seldom encountered, — this is a picture of the tracts of land, through which I had to travel. Whole caravans are often stopped by billows of sand, which like the tide of the sea, ebb and flow; half covered over they often wait for a favorable breeze, a burning blast from the desert, which ends their halt.

A few poor villages and widely scattered Arab tents, which are to be found in the sandy desert, refresh the eye, fatigued by the monotony of the scene. The scorching rays

of the sun make it impossible to travel during the day time: at sun-rise therefore we pitched our tents, rested until night, and made use of the cool hours for prosecuting our journey.

For seven days we had to travel through the desert tracts; until finally, three days' journey before the old caliph's town of Bagdad, we arrived at an enormous palm forest, which extends to within a short distance of the town. It is necessary to travel through a desert, in order to conceive what the wanderer feels at the sight of fresh luxuriant nature, bright in all the splendid richness of vegetation, when, exhausted by fatigue, scorched by the burning rays of the sun, the eye fatigued by the glaring yellow sand of the monotonous desert, he enters the forest shades. He feels as if newborn, and begins to hope that he is now approaching places where he will meet with fellow creatures.

On leaving this forest, which always affords cooling shades, are to be seen on the horizon the slender minarets and the beautiful domes of the Mosques of Bagdad, the white lines of which stand out in strong relief against the azure blue of the sky. To the right and left the town appears to be surrounded by a glittering girdle, which is formed by the water of the rapid and foaming Tigris.

Of Bagdad we shall treat lengthily in our next Chapter. It occupied in ancient history a very important rank among nations and even at the present day it is no small importance in the East.

CHAPTER XV.

Bagdad.¹

The Jews of Bagdad and their happy condition; their sciences and government. — Synagogue. — Marriage customs. — Tomb of the Marabut Abd-el-Kader. — Supposed tomb of the priest Joshua. — General description of the town, trade and habits. — The ruins of Babylon. — Hillah. Birs Nimrod (tower of Nimrod).

The Jewish population of Bagdad numbers about 3000 families, who their science, industry and opulence contribute much to the progress of trade, to the general activity, and to

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira: We now enter with Teixeira into Bagdad, into this highly favoured city, large, rich and magnificent, with its beautiful women, whose eyes particularly pleased our traveller. Bagdad had, in his time, above 20,000 houses (casas), of which 200—300 were inhabited by Jews. Twelve or thirteen of these Jewish families asserted that their forefathers were transplanted here at the time of the destruction of the first Temple. The Jews of Bagdad of whom some carry on trade, and are very poor, live in a certain part of the town with their Kanis or Synagogue — perhaps the Kenisa „gdolah des Rosch Hagolah“, which Benjamin de Tudela mentions *) — in free exercise of their religion. So far Teixeira. — If we compare the numbers given by him with the accounts of Benjamin de Tudela, and of him of the Moldau, we come to the conclusion, that the Jewish population of Bagdad in his time must have been very low. Benjamin de Tudela found 1000 families,**) and Teixeira men-

*) Teixeira, 121: *Haura de doscientas a trescientas casas de Judios, de que las 12 o 13 afirman que son aun del primero captiuero, algunos dellos son facultosos, pero los mas pobriscimos; bien en barrio separado cou su Kanis o Synagoga libremente.* At that time Bagdad had 10 Armenian Christian families and 80 Nestorians.

**) Benjamin de Tudela 59. 60.

the flourishing condition of this important province. There is more real wealth and true spirit of enterprise to be observed here than in any of the other parts in this locality and the Jews lead the van in commerce. Merchants of the first rank are to be found among them, who extend their commercial transactions into the remotest countries, and labour with success not only against the competition of the natives, but likewise against that of foreign countries. In no other place in the east have I found my Israelitish brethren in such a perfectly happy condition, and so worthy of their condition. With respect to superstition, the fruit of ignorance, and the result of the numerous traditions, which people of the east imbibe from their earliest youth, — the Bagdad Jews may be regarded the ideal of the Jewish population of the east. They have noble principles, are hospitable, enlightened and benevolent to all those with whom they have dealings. By continual intercourse with strangers, they have acquired good manners and politeness, and they possess a knowledge of the world, which places them on a par with the most civilised nations of Europe. Their Rabbis are well informed men, and are treated with the greatest respect.

The three chief Rabbis are invested with judicial power; they bear the title of Dajanim (justice of the peace), and are selected by the community for this important office. At the time of my sojourn among them, Rabbi Jacob, son of Joseph Jacob, was the first of the Dajanim, and was greatly esteemed on account of his learning, benevolence and noble

tions 300 families! It is to be wished that our travellers would fix their attention on the increase and decrease of the Jewish population in the countries they visit. Like Teixeira, Benjamin de Tudela (p. 60, 61), also speaks of some families of Bagdad, who could boast of their ancient descent. He also speaks of a Rabbi Elieser ben Zemach, who could trace his pedigree up to the Prophet Samuel, and he and his brethren knew the melodies which were sung in the Temple before its destruction. A Rabbi Daniel, whom Benjamin knew, traced his descent from the royal house of David.

character. These gained for him the respect, admiration and esteem of all who were acquainted with the noble traits of his character and admired the qualities of his heart and soul. His colleagues were Rabbi Eliahu Obadja, a rich and learned man, who, by means of caravans, carries on an important trade with Damascus, — and Rabbi Avdola, one of the richest merchants of Bagdad. This triumvirate of Judges are not however able to determine any punishment, as this power is possessed only by the Chacham Baschi (chief Rabbi). The Chacham Baschi is appointed to this dignified office by the Sublime Porte. He represents the community before the highest authorities, and superintends their religious interests and the administration of civil affairs. He collects from the Jews the taxes, for which they are in arrears. Every male member of the community pays, from the time he becomes 15 years of age, a yearly tribute of 15 to 120 piastres, which is collected in quarterly payments.

The Chacham Baschi is supported in his office by the highest members of the community; and it is necessary that their opinions should coincide with his own, in order to establish the validity of his acts. In my time, this honorable office was held by Rabbi Raphael Kassin of Aleppo, a man about 30 years of age, of stately figure and noble appearance, wearing a long black beard. He enjoys the especial favour of the Pacha, who has assigned him a guard of honour consisting of four Gavaz (gendarmes), and besides these, five or six Jews are in waiting upon him, who have to convey and execute his orders and commands. When he goes out, it is always with truly princely pomp, and the guard of honour goes before him on horseback. As a mark of high consideration and respect, he wears the decoration of the imperial order of the Nissan, a distinction, of which very few Jews in the Ottoman empire can boast.

Under the orders of the Chacham Baschi the community is presided over by the Nassi. Up to the year 1849 to 50 Rabbi Joseph Moses Reuben, a very rich educated, and benevolent man, was the Nassi of the community. He did me

the honour to invite me several times to his house to dine with him. Before the appointment of the high office of the Chacham Baschi, the Nassi was always chosen from among the wealthiest and most influential Jews. He possessed much power, which, if abused, might have been productive of serious consequences, not only among those of his own persuasion, but likewise among the Mussulmans; for as he was only dependent on the favour of the Pachah, he could purchase by a sum of money indulgence for all his actions, and act according to his own caprice and advantage, towards all whom he wished to injure. This lamentable state of affairs I was myself an eye witness to. The arbitrary character of these Pachahs is something horrible to contemplate. They do just as they please with impunity.

The religious instruction among the Jews of Bagdad is admirable; for there is a large Jeschiwa (rabbinical school), in which 60 young Rabbis study theology. This school is under the direction of the learned Rabbi Abdolah ben Abraham Seumech, who performs the duties of his office gratuitously. He is a very rich man, and, in my time, carried on one of the principal commercial houses; he has given over the management of his business to a partner, in order to devote himself exclusively to his pious office.

The Jews in Bagdad dwell in a particular quarter of the city; but they have the option of settling in other parts of the town, and many of them live among the Mussulmans. The community possesses nine Synagogues; of which eight are situated in the same court. At a poor-box, placed at the entrance of the court, stand several of the most influential members of the community, morning and evening, to receive the alms and gifts of the passers-by. These amount daily to about 1000 piastres, — and are generally used for the maintenance of the poor of the community, and for the support of the Jeschiwa. For the same purpose a tax is also levied on Kosher meat.

The ninth Synagogue is a very large building supported

by sixteen columns. The Megila (book of Esther) is read there on the 14th and 15th of Adar (March). The inside of the edifice presents nothing worthy of note; the ceiling is decorated with sculpture. This Synagogue is named Beth Haknezeth Sheik (Isaac) Gaon.¹ In a side room of it is the tomb of this learned man. It is a catafalque, the height of a man, decorated with flags of four colours at which ten learned Rabbis are always reading and reciting prayers.

On Friday afternoon between two and three o'clock, all business ceases among the Jews of Bagdad, and all the commercial houses are closed. Each person returns to his own home, puts on his best garments, and hurries to the Synagogue, where evening service is performed, which lasts until an hour before sunset. All then return to their families, sing pious Hebrew songs, and drink aniseed brandy. As soon as the last rays of the sun have disappeared, the Kriath Schema takes place; and they then partake of the evening meal, which sometimes lasts until midnight. On Saturday, they go to the morning service, afterwards they breakfast, and then religious reading commences and with such decorum and devotion that even a casual listener must be edified. Several families are usually assembled at these readings, which are generally selected from the Prophets. Every member of the family listens with much devotion, and the strangers who happen to be present follow their example. After the reading there is an interchange of visits, and the afternoon is devoted to amusement in the open air. The rich possess beautiful country houses and palmgardens on the Tigris, where they spend the summer.

With feelings of the highest satisfaction and pleasure I saw how devoutly and solemnly, and with what strict attention to the precepts of the Law, the Sabbath was observed

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 60 speaks of 10 Jeschiwas, and p. 63 and 64 of 28 Synagogues and of 1000 Jewish families, but of the latter Synagogue he makes no mention. — Pethachia p. 173 mentions the same number. P. 182 he speaks of three Synagogues.

in Bagdad. With true delight did I assist at the readings and friendly meetings, where pleasure was always enhanced by true and deep knowledge. In no other country I visited did I find my brethren in the faith so void of care, so happy, so free from persecutions and oppressions of intolerance, as at Bagdad. Often when looking with sorrow at the misery and profound ignorance of my brethren, when I saw how under the yoke of despotism they wandered like mere shadows of that once celebrated, great and learned people and when I compared their condition with that of their brethren in Bagdad, then the hope took possession of me, that soon for them also a better and happier future would break forth.

In Bagdad I found the words of the Bible verified: „And thou shalt rejoice in the presence of thy Lord, thou, and thy son and thy daughter, thy man servant, and thy maid servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates.“¹

I myself was received with the greatest hospitality and kindness, and which, coming from the heart, rejoiceth the soul. The head of one of the richest families, Awdul Asis ben Awdul Nawi, entertained me in his house during my stay there. I saw with much pleasure how the poor, the widows and orphans receive before the beginning of the Sabbath the alms of the rich, and how often, besides these customary gifts, they are welcomed at the tables of the wealthy. The sight of all this happiness, of this piety, and sacred observance of the precepts of the law, was for me a true refreshment, an oasis in the wilderness, and it inspired me with courage to continue my researches.

Another observation which I made in Bagdad is the following: In the town about a third more girls are born

¹ Deuteronomy c. XVI. 11. 14.

than boys; at the birth of a girl, the house is full of sorrow; for the dowry is thought of. They likewise marry at a very early age, for instance, — some years before my visit to Bagdad, a girl of 8 or 10 years old was married to a young man of 18 or 20 years of age. Much sorrow and evil is caused by these early marriages: there was therefore a judicial determination that the daughters of the rich should not marry before their tenth year, those of the middle classes before their eleventh, and the poorer population not before their twelfth year. If a girl therefore is unmarried at her fifteenth year, she may give up all hopes of being married at all. So it is with widows; they have no chance of a second marriage; as every one would prefer to marry a poor girl than a young and pretty widow, be she ever so rich. This would not be the case in America or Europe as pretty widows with money have very good chances. I was informed that the Jewish community alone numbered about 4—500 widows.

The marriage ceremonies are as follows: When a man wishes to marry, it is not the custom, as with us, that he should previously be acquainted with his future wife; but the mother, or some other female relation, goes and looks at the girl, and if she pleases her, the husband must be satisfied likewise.

The night before the wedding is called *Lel-al-Chana* (the Arabic word „Lel“ means *night*, and „Chana“ is a red colour). The relations of the bride meet in the house of her parents, and begin to sing and play music according to the custom of the country. After spending about two hours in this way, a colour (*Chana*), prepared for the purpose, is taken, the palms of the hands, the nails of the bride, and her attendant maidens, and the soles of their feet up to the toes are painted therewith. The paint is washed off the next morning, when a little dark reddish colouring will denote for the space of several weeks the places marked. This same ceremony is gone through with the bridegroom and with his companions at his house; and then in both

houses the night is spent in singing and music; as it is considered injurious for the bride and bridegroom to sleep the night previous the wedding. I was present at the ceremony at both houses; and must confess that it much pleased me.

The next day about three hours before sunset come the Chachamim with the bridegroom and his relations to the house of the bride, and the preparations for the wedding are commenced. The bride sits veiled with the women behind a curtain. The Chacham lifts the veil from the face of the bride, and shows her to the bridegroom, as, according to the Talmud, the marriage ceremony dare not occur unless the bridegroom has seen the bride.¹ The marriage is then performed according to the precepts of the Talmud.

At the conclusion of the ceremony the Chachamim return with the bridegroom to his house, while the bride remains under the parental roof. In the evening the bridegroom and his companions call for the bride, and conduct her to his dwelling. The young wife is not accompanied by her parents. They then partake of a short repast, after which, the young couple are conducted to a chamber especially prepared. The bridegroom being satisfied with the chastity of his young wife, a messenger is immediately sent to the parents and the night is spent in merry revelry. Not until the third evening do the parents of the young wife with all the relations come to the house of the son-in-law. Here, grand and expensive entertainments take place; and the poor are liberally remembered. The marriage solemnities last, according to patriarchal custom, seven whole days.

The Israelites of that place related to me some strange stories, which they said to have occurred some years back, and which I impart here to my readers in the very same manner as I heard them.

They told me, for instance, that a Mahometan Marabut (saint) used to live there, who by using the Shemoth hatumah (unholy names of demons) wrought miracles. His prin-

¹ Messechet Kiduschin p. 41.

cial occupation consisted in writing amulets, and thus his reputation was very great, all believing in his power to cure the sick, make the blind see again and so forth. That superstitious belief grew so much that they even considered the very dust of his house as holy, and putting a small quantity of that dust or sand in a little bag they hung it around the neck of the sick, who as they expected, got immediately cured.

Barren women applied to him for children; and the Jews who usually abhor such superstitions nevertheless put their implicit faith in him. At that time there lived in Bagdad a Chacham, a great kabbalist, who was very much grieved to see his brethren in faith led astray by such gross superstitions. He hired a house just opposite to that in which the Marabut lived, and hung upon the walls of his house many Shemoth Hakdusha (Holy names) and thus working against the unholy power of the Marabut he succeeded in destroying all that the other performed through his spells and ungodly means. The same Chacham did all he could to deliver the Jews from the evil influence of that superstition. The Marabut was, as a matter of course, greatly vexed at the Chacham's impairing his business. These two men persecuted each other with their respective mysterious weapons, and at last the consequence was that both of them died in the course of the same year (if I don't mistake, I was told, they died on the same day).

The Marabut is still revered by the Mahometans as a saint; the Jews likewise hold the name of the Chacham sacred till now.

The town of Bagdad is divided by the Tigris into two unequal parts; of which the largest, the town itself, is encircled by a wall, at the end of which is a fortress, used for barracks. On entering the town by the gate of Mosul,

the view is really splendid. The streets are broad; in them are numerous shops filled with the most splendid wares, and costly bazaars, particularly those situated in the middle of the town.

On the other shore of the Tigris is that portion of the town at which the different caravans arrive, and from which they take their exit. It is a very large market place, where the foreign merchants and travellers join the caravans. A bridge in a very bad condition crosses the river, the overflows of which, particularly in the spring, cause much damage.

When the water is very high, a peculiar kind of boat is used to pass over; it consists of a kind of deep basket, made of wicker work, and covered over with pitch; for the same purpose they make use of canoes, which are made in two divisions, and each capable of containing 8—10 persons. Going along the streets towards the Jewish quarter of the town, I passed a mosque of fine appearance, enclosed by a wall. In this mosque is the tomb of the great Marabut Abd-el-Kader, which is visited by numerous pilgrims. Tradition relates that the mosque was formerly a synagogue, and that the Marabut was no less a person than the celebrated Talmudist Joseh Haguelili.

In Bagdad the heat in summer is unbearable, so that one is obliged to remain at home during the day, and to attend to business at night. On account of the heat subterranean grottoes have been constructed, they are kept cool by reservoirs of water. In the summer one sleeps on the terraces, in order to avoid the smothering heat of the rooms, and the stings of scorpions. These scorpions are real plagues to the country; they are everywhere to be found here, and particularly in the narrow streets, where at night it is necessary to be furnished with a lantern in order to be able to get out of their way. The scorpions are of different kinds and colors, black, blue, and green; the sting of the black scorpion is deadly, and up to this time no remedy for it has been discovered. For the stings of the other species

the following remedies are used: 1) A little flat blackish-blue stone is laid upon the wound, and there remains for 24 hours, until the poison is extracted. 2) A scorpion is boiled in olive oil and laid upon the wound; if the same scorpion that caused the wound can be obtained for that purpose, the cure is the more certain. 3) A sheep is slaughtered, the inside taken out, and the wounded member placed in the body of the still warm animal. 4) The poison may be sucked out of the wound by 'a strong man, a process which for him is not attended by danger. 5) And lastly, ice applications are put on the wounded part. All these remedies must however be employed immediately after the infliction of the sting; for the effects of the poison are rapid and fearful in their workings.

The terraces are planted and ornamented with flowers, and when the heat prevents sleep, persons meet together, and spend the time in friendly conversation. The apartments of the rich are splendidly ornamented, and kept almost in the European style.

The population of Bagdad consists of four different elements. In the first rank are the Arabians, Jews and Christians; after them follow the Persians and Indians. — Two consuls reside in the town, one French, the other English. Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Italian are spoken.

The men dress in the Turkish style, with a splendour, which is only known in the East. They wear yellow shoes, with turned-up toes. The dress of the women resembles the *négligé* of Europeans; for a headdress they wear a little red fez (a sort of cap), with long gold- or silk-tassels decorated with pearls and diamonds. When they go out, they wear a silk haik, a kind of apron, reaching to the neck; and a long veil guards them from the rays of the sun. In general the women possess great beauty, and their cleverness and activity in needle work are astonishing.

The importance and extent of the commerce of the town are generally known; enormous caravans, some more than 2000 camels strong, come and go daily in ceaseless

change from, and to all parts. I was told that twice a year a caravan of more than 6000 camels went to Damascus. The trade with India is completely in the hands of the Jews, who possess manufacturies in Calcutta, Bombay, Singapore, and even at Canton. The most important articles of trade in these countries are indigo, spices, silk stuffs, some kinds of rare fruits and dyes, which come from different provinces of China. From Persia come chiefly carpets, shawls, silk, tombako (a kind of tobacco), wines, almonds &c. From the same country are also procured precious stones, rubies, emeralds, and corals; and from the Island Rein in the Persian Gulf beautiful pearls are obtained.

The larger ships containing articles of Jewish manufacture go to Mascat, Abeshur, and Bassora; in the latter place they unload, and wait for smaller ships to take their cargo on farther. — The steam-boat between India and Abeshur only goes once in six weeks.

In the year 1841 Bagdad was visited by the plague, which caused fearful ravages; many persons died, and many thousands left the town. A second misfortune, which visited the town in the same year, was the overflowing of the Tigris, by which many houses were inundated and destroyed.

According to the prevailing custom of the East the houses are always kept closed. If a stranger knocks at a door, and a woman opens it for him, she immediately turns aside, hides her face, and hurries timidly away. According to the Arabian style of building, the houses have a courtyard in their centre, round which the dwelling is built. The kitchen is on the ground-floor, and the women live in the first story. A stranger may live several months in a house without once seeing the female members of the household: as soon however as he is known, he is treated with friendliness. Deprived of all society and amusement, the women have no idea of free and social propriety, they possess no knowledge which might serve to control their passions, and they readily give themselves up to any one with all the vehemence of their warm temperament. (This appears to us rather

strange as the women know the terrible punishment that will be inflicted on them if found out. Translator.) Whenever they appear in the street, they are wrapped in a long veil, from beneath which only gleam their sparkling eyes, which look boldly on the passers-by.

One day I had a conversation with some worthy gentlemen, during which I was asked, if it were really true that the women in Europe were free, and showed themselves unveiled in public. On my replying in the affirmative, they explained to me that it was the destiny of the daughters of Eve to lead a retired life, and their faces ought to be covered before strangers, and particularly before men. To this I said: „The Bible speaks of a veiled woman; but Judah, the son of Jacob, took her for a harlot.“¹ — The word was severe, although taken from the Bible, with which my companions were well acquainted; otherwise I had gone too far in saying this: for what matters it if the women cover their faces, and their person be displayed. The reader will kindly excuse my biblical remark with the same indulgence as my listeners did. I will also mention what was told to me on this occasion; namely, that a woman, who only wore one most necessary article of clothing, was cleaning a yard, when at the sight of a stranger who entered the door, she threw this, her only garment, over her head, in order to cover her face.

In such conversations it is always better to rest one's arguments on the Bible, for there is no gainsaying its authority; although unfortunately it is not always rightly understood.

An hour's journey from Bagdad is a small building, shaded by eight gigantic date-trees; it is divided into two parts, in one of them is the richly ornamented tomb of the High-Priest Joshua,² mentioned by Zechariah.³ Several old

¹ Genesis c. XXXVIII. 15.

² Kayserling, P. Teixeira: A short distance from Bagdad Teixeira found in a little hut a tomb, for which Moors and Jews testify great

manuscripts, portions of which are read at his tomb, are under the catafalque; they contain an account of his history, which is to be found in the writings of the Prophet Zechariah. The interior of the vaulted tomb is lighted by a long narrow window. The Jews go there every month, in order to hear the writings of the High-Priest read; after the conclusion of this they join in singing hymns, and then meet at some distance from the tomb, and partake of a friendly meal.

The ruins of Babylon. — Hillah.

The ruins of Babylon begin two and a half days' journey to the northwest of Bagdad, and stretch along the shores of the Euphrates to the town of Hillah,¹ which is at

respect. They say that the body of a Jewish High-Priest rests there. It is a large tomb built of stone and chalk. At the top of the catafalque is a metal plate, on which is written in hebrew characters: Jesuah Kohen Gadol. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood maintain that he was a holy man, and all venerate him on account of the miracles, which, as they assert, God performed through him.*)

³ Zecharia c. III. 1.

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira: Not far from Hela he trod the soil of Mesopotamia. From afar he perceived the ruins of ancient Babylon, „and this place of all others in the vicinity is the most seldom visited; a fulfilment of the words spoken by the Prophet.“**)

*) Teixeira 124: *Fuera de aquella parte de la ciudad esta recogida en una pequenna casa una sepultura tenuta de Moros y Judios en grande veneracion, en la qual dizen està depositado el cuerpo de un summo sacerdote Hebreo. El tumulo es como una grande caza de piedra y cal, y en la cabecera tiene una camina de cobre, con unas letras de relieuo en Hebrayco que dizen -Jehsuah Kohen Gado (1) que se Josuah summo sacerdato dizen que fue varon santo, y todos lo reuerencian como tal, por milagros que affirman ha Dios hecho por el.*

**) Teix. c. III: *es el lugar menos frequentado de toda aquella region, en cumplimiento de lo que della estava prophetizado. (Isaiah, c. XIV, 19, 20 ff.).*

the distance of six hours' journey. Where once stood the ancient well known city of Babylon there is now a dreary waste, only relieved by a few miserable plantations near the tents of the Bedouins.

A deep religious feeling must take possession of any one who views these magnificent ruins, these delapidated remains of palaces, monuments, columns, and edifices, which even in their ruinous state give evidence of their former splendour. Up to this day are still found many costly articles under these ruins, — antique vases, and gold and silver coins. I myself possessed four coins, of which however I was robbed as well as of other things.

In the neighbourhood is to be seen a cave, into which it is said, Daniel was thrown to the lions, and likewise the place where is said to have stood the furnace, into which Nebuchadnezzar caused the Prophets Ananias, Misael and Azarias to be thrown. The former site of the palace of this king is also shown, as well as the reputed dwelling of Daniel. In the interior of the so-called Daniel's cave bubbles now a spring, which is held in great esteem by the Arabs and Jews; as its miraculous water is said to cure fevers. An ancient lime-tree is also here, which is much venerated by the inhabitants; as, according to tradition, it was worshipped by Nebuchadnezzar. Formerly this tree divided itself into three branches, one of which, so I was told, an English lord had cut down; a desecration in the eyes of the natives which caused a complete rebellion among the Arab population, and for which this nobleman as well as the English consul had to pay dearly.

Six hours' journey southwest of the ruins of Babylon rises a great mass of ruins; it is the world-renowned work of presumptuous men, the well-known Tower of Babel, described in the Bible.¹ I should have liked much to view the ruins of this enormous building, but I did not possess the necessary means for hiring a strong escort, without

¹ Petachia p. 191 likewise speaks of this tower.

which it is impossible to venture there, as they are infested by hordes of robbers, and wild animals.

The people say that it takes three days to inspect the remains of the Babylonian Tower, among which are still to be found rooms in a good state, and sepulchres. According to the accounts of the Jews and Arabs, these ruins are 1450 feet broad, and of such an enormous extent that, taking their highest point as a centre, they lie round in a circumference of twenty hours' journey. Several flights of steps lead to the top.

About three days' journey from Bagdad on the right shore of the Euphrates, stands the town of Hillah.¹ About 50 Jewish families live here, whose Nassi is Mailum Mor-

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira: Not far from Mexat-Ocem Teixeira passed over the Euphrates, entered Mesopotamia, and visited many of those ancient places of historical interest to his brethren in the faith. — At first he thinks of Hela, *) mentioned by Tudela as Chila and Hillah, **) the place which the children of Israel passed, when they were led captive to Babylon. The fields of this part lying on the shores of the Euphrates are all intersected by small streams, — „those were the streams of which the Psalmist speaks in his writings.“ †) Teixeira made no stay at this place, and does not speak of the Jews here, of whom Benjamin de Tudela found 10,000.

*) *Teixeira c. III: por do los hijos de Israel passaron cautivos para Babylonia.* We should be indeed inclined to consider the ancient Halah (II. Kings c. XVII. 6, c. XXIII. 11), Helah to be Helah-Hillah. Teixeira does not mention whether his account is a tradition which the experience of the inhabitants has proved, it certainly however agrees with Holy Writ, as II. Kings c. XVIII. 11 is stands thus: „*wajanchem ba—Halach*“ and he carried away etc. The Talmudists were perfectly acquainted with the situation of Halach, which (according to Gesenius) is the identical Helach (Genesis c. X. 11); and they quite agree with the account of our journey. Talmud babil, Joma 10*a* it stands thus: Helach su Phrat d'bursif. (Helach is the neighbourhood of the Euphrates in the part near Bursif) Now Bursif (Borsippa) is known to be the same as Babel; and thereby it is proved that Halach lay on the site of the present Hela, or Hillah.

**) Benjamin de Tudela 65.

†) *Ibid. 111: aquellos heran los Kios de que el Psalmista, haze mencion en su Psalmo.* (Psalm 137.)

decai. This little community possesses a Synagogue.¹ In Hillah, different kinds of stuffs are manufactured, which are used in the country itself. The town is likewise celebrated for rearing the best Arab horses.

From Hillah to Kabur-Kefil is a journey of about six hours. Near the latter place I found in the middle of the desert, upon a hill, a small pyramidal tower. It is arched and contains a subterranean apartment, which leads into a grotto. This tower, which is called by the Arabs Birs Nimrod, is of great antiquity, and, according to tradition, belonged to the hunter Nimrod, and was inhabited by him.

CHAPTER XVI.

Kabur-Kefil.

Tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel. — Pilgrimages to the tomb. — Bequest of King Jehoiachim. — Tombs of the Kings Sit-kejahu and Jehoiachim. — Siftif. — Meshed Ali.

The town of Kabur-Kefil lies near the Euphrates, several hours' journey from the ruins of Babylon. Kefil means in

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 65 mentions 10,000 Jews and 4 Synagogues. With respect to several other towns, of which we will speak later, he mentions a population of several thousand Jews, of whom now no traces are to be found.

Turkish and in Arabic „surety“, and this name of the town is derived from the remarkable circumstance of the Prophet Ezekiel's standing forth here as surety for the innocence of the Jews, at the moment when, in consequence of calumnies, a persecution broke out against them. Even at the present time, the Arabs living there treat our people with great respect.

The town presents the appearance of an irregular mass of walls, and is now exclusively occupied by the Arabs, and by one of their tribes, that of Hindu.

In the town is a building enclosed by a wall, containing the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel, which is covered with costly tapestry, and different kinds of rich needle work and embroidery. According to the calculation of Seder Hadaroth the Prophet died during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who had taken prisoner Jehoiachim, King of Judah. The tomb lay between the rivers Euphrates and Chebar, and had at that time no wall to enclose it. After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, his son Evil-Merodach succeeded. He not only liberated his royal prisoner, but presented him with land and vineyards in the vicinity.¹

After having regained his liberty Jehoiachim took several thousand Jews, and began with their assistance to build the above mentioned wall.² He furnished it with towers as if it were a fortress, the largest of which was surrounded by a gallery, and served as foundation to a building resembling a Mosque. A high winding staircase in the interior leads to the top of this tower, from which one can distinctly see with the naked eye the Babylonian tower, rising like a giant in the distance. This tower has a peculiar contrivance, which leads the inhabitants of the country to believe something wonderful and super-natural. Through this tower goes a wooden beam or pole, both ends of which run into the gallery: if this beam be violently pulled, a shaking movement

¹ Jeremiah c. LII. 31.

² Seder Hadaroth.

is felt in the whole upper part of the tower. According to the belief of the inhabitants, the following words must be spoken as a magic spell: „Beschem Malka Schalum wa Atharatho“ (in the name of King Salomon and of his crown): if this be forgotten to be said, the most disastrous consequences may follow. It was in vain I endeavoured to explain to my brethren the natural cause of this supposed wonder, which most likely consists in a hidden spring, or some other hidden piece of mechanism; but I was not able to shake their superstitious belief.

On this spot is the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel,¹ upon which a large stone sarcophagus is erected, which, like the rest of the building, is whitened over with chalk. At the side of it stands a large Synagogue, the outside of which is covered with a beautiful varnish, resembling the colour of tortoise shell. In the interior, the side towards Jerusalem is quite bare and unfinished, as a sign of mourning for the Holy Temple in the city of the Almighty, and in remembrance of the remains of its walls. The tomb of the Prophet is entered by a door in the Sanctuary.

On one of the walls of the building two figures of the size of life are to be seen: they were painted in days of old, and are almost worn out by age. According to the assertion of the Jews they are the pictures of the Prophet Ezekiel and King Jehoiachim. From the dim and faded outlines of these pictures any resemblance to the human form is with much difficulty to be traced; the colours and

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira: About half a day's journey from the town Teixeira perceived a large building with a high tower. This contains the tomb and the remains of the holy Prophet Ezekiel, who is called by the Moors and Jews Ezkehl — T'cheskel — and held by all in the greatest respect. *)

*) *Teix. 102: una casa grande con una alta torre, ado esta la sepultura y cuerpo del santo Propheta Ezechiel, à quien Moros y Judios llamen Ezkhel, tenuta de todos en suma veneracion, tanto por su vida y santidad, como por los milagros que affirman obra Dios alli por su sierna.* Besides Benjamin de Tudela (66 ff.) this tomb according to Asher (1. c. II. 141), is also described by Petachia, Charisi and Niebuhr.

the fashion of the apparel are no longer to be seen. The whole wall at the entrance-door is covered at different places with groups of figures, something like the superscriptions and decorations of the ancient Egyptians; they are in remembrance of those who built this edifice, — that is, of a whole people, who, with their king, erected it.

According to the assertion of the people of the country, this is said to be the only Synagogue built by command of a King of Judah, and at the erection of which he himself assisted. The sacred and other writings do not always notice this: later I shall mention several other Synagogues which are to be found, in or near this province, at the tombs of the Kings of Judah; but it was impossible for me to obtain any certain proofs that these building were erected by command of these kings.

In the holy shrine of this Synagogue are preserved different rolls of the law; among which was one of the most extraordinary size I had ever seen. It is written on a kind of parchment which is called Guewil, and, according to the belief of the people of the country, was written by the hand of Ezekiel himself.¹

I have another opinion respecting this. After many enquiries I made on the spot itself, and after having consulted with the Chachamim of the country, I have arrived at the conviction that this Pentateuch was written by Rabbi Anan, who lived in the year 4490, at the time of the great Gaonim, as is related in the work Raawet. This Rabbi

¹ Benjamin de Tudela p. 66, 67 also speaks of this Pentateuch and of the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel, but he does not mention the name of the place. He likewise says that the Jews assemble there from new year until the day of Atonement, which however now takes place at quite a different period as we shall mention. He also speaks of 60 towers and of many Synagogues. I, however, only found one tower and one Synagogue — Petachia, p. 179, likewise speaks of this tomb of the Prophet; but does not mention the place. Like Tudela he also mentions that the Jews assemble there from new year until the day of Atonement; the Pentateuch he does not name.

possessed no rank under the Gaonim; he therefore turned to schism, and became the founder of the sect of the Karaites, who, by the Jews, are called Karahim; that is, Followers of the Word, of the dead letter of the Bible (from the Hebrew Kera, to read). He drew a great number of Israelites over to his sect. This account is found confirmed in the work of the Abbé Bargès, — Professor of Oriental Languages at the Sorbonne in Paris, — called: „*Japhet ben Zeli Bassorensis Caraitae in librorum psalmorum commentarii Arabici.*“ The learned author, who made me a present of a copy of his work, likewise explains the name *Caraitae* „Readers or writers, the sons of Holy Writ“.

This Pentateuch is only used on the Joumkipur (day of atonement); and all my entreaties to be allowed to examine the manuscript were useless, as it is only allowable to read it on the above mentioned day.

In the interior of the Synagogue is a certain room, which is always kept shut; it is never even entered by the Jews, and is certainly therefore not accessible to any one else. It is a so-called Guenisa¹ (place for the safe custody of ancient writings) in which old manuscripts are kept, which are said to date from ancient times, and to have come from different places. This place for the preservation of old relics is held in great veneration by the followers of every creed.²

Beside the Synagogue and the tomb of the Prophet, a Jeschiba is erected, in which the Chachamim, sometimes 20 in number, continually assemble for pious reading and for the study of the Talmud and other books of the law: They are the only Jews who have a settled dwelling place in

¹ The Jews in the East and in Africa have still the custom of preserving in an appointed place torn and worn out books and manuscripts, and Pentateuchs which have become illegible, and of burying them every two or three years in the cemetery. A stone is placed over them with the inscription „Guenisa“; and a festival takes place at the time.

² Benjamin de Tudela p. 67 speaks of this Guenisa.

Kabur-Kefil. Their rich brethren in Bagdad supply them with everything necessary for the support of themselves, and of this institution, which is maintained by large gifts and legacies. For instance, a few years before I was there, a rich Jewish merchant in Bagdad, named Jacob Zemach, died without any male heirs, and left the whole of his property in charitable bequests to his brethren in the faith at Zephath, Palestine and likewise 150,000 karans (1 karan = 5 piastres) for the support of the Jeschiba at Kabur-Kefil. These pious hermits, so devoted to learning, in whose family the name of Servant of the Prophet is hereditary, are freed from all taxes, and served by three Arabs

The Jews, as well as the Arabs of the vicinity, entertain a very firm belief in the efficacy of certain acts for the protection of which they call on the tomb of the Prophet Ezekiel, especially with regard to sick people, who are not considered quite incurable. — But who knows the will of the Almighty?¹ This question no one could answer.

Every Friday afternoon the above mentioned Chachamim go to the tomb of the Prophet, sing hymns there and pious songs, and change the tapestry with which the catafalque is covered. The Jews of the surrounding provinces likewise make pilgrimages to this place. Every year at the time of the Feast of weeks many pious pilgrims from Bagdad and Bassora, from Persia and from other countries, without distinction to rank or sex, come to celebrate the festival at Kabur-Kefil. Numerous ceremonies take place at this time. On the eve of the festival the men go into the Synagogue, and read there the book of the Prophet Ezekiel. An hour before daybreak the privilege of replacing the old covers by new ones as well as of reading aloud before the tomb of the Prophet the Hafthora² of the day, is sold to the highest bidder. The first of these offices can be exe-

¹ A very profound question which however requires more ability to ask than to answer. (Transl.)

² A portion of the book of the Prophet.

cuted by several pious persons; the result of the sale of this privilege often exceeds the sum of 1000 piastres. When this has been arranged, they go to change the draperies, which takes place amid the songs of the assembled multitude; songs, the beauty and harmony of which, added to the accuracy with which this solemn religious ceremony was executed, excited my admiration. Hymns were sung in the pauses during the ceremony. This lasted three hours and the Hafthora lasts quite as long. During the whole time the women are present in the Synagogue, in order to listen devoutly to the hymns, which are especially composed for this occasion.

Shall I now relate some of the narratives, of which I was told thousands more or less fabulous, concerning the different miracles and wonderful things, which are said to have taken place at the tomb of the Prophet? The reader will allow me to be silent on this subject; for I could not relate anything of interest to him or that would instruct him.

The nomadic Arabs of the desert likewise come in true belief to the tomb of the Prophet, and kiss the catafalque with veneration. They also offer gifts to the Chachamim of the place, in order to obtain thro' their mediation the favour of the Prophet.

After the liberation of King Jehoiachim from captivity, he gave a great portion of the land and vineyards, which he owed to the generosity of the King of Babylon, for the support of these buildings. The institution stands to this day; and even Ali, a relation of Mahomed, venerated by the Persians as a Prophet, when he came to these countries to obtain followers for his new religion, allowed it to remain in its integrity.

On my return to these countries at the end of the year 1850, I heard that the Arabs of the tribe of Hindu, in conjunction with other Arabs had refused to pay tribute to the Pacha of Bagdad. The Pacha sent troops in order to enforce it; but on account of their small number they were driven back with loss by the rebels and withdrew into

the town of the Prophet Ezekiel. The Arabs did not dare venture to follow them there, or to shoot upon them, for fear of desecrating the sanctuary. The little band thus gained time to wait for further help from Bagdad, on the arrival of which the rebels were discomfited on all sides, and compelled to submit and to pay the required tribute. During these events I was at Bagdad. — Veneration for the Prophet works so powerfully on the minds of the uncivilised people of these parts, who consist of the most powerful and bold warriors of the numerous hordes of robbers, that the Chachamim of Kabur-Kefil never have to fear the least invasion on their part, and they are even protected by them against other robbers.

The tombs of King Zedekiah, of the Prophet Zephaniah, and of several members of David's family, which are in the vicinity of Kabur-Kefil, — as well as Siftif, with its ancient Synagogue, — are mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela p. 68, 69, to which I refer my readers. But the Jews, which he found at these places in his time in such numbers, are now no more to be found; a few only are to be found and these scattered in all directions.

Meshed Ali. — Kelbella.

From Kabur-Kefil I went to Meshed Ali, a distance of about six hours' journey.

In the town of Meshed Ali¹ is the tomb of Ali, whom I have before mentioned. He was the founder of a Mussul-

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira: The next place he visited was Bagdad. As at this time could he not cross the Tigris, he determined to take the route through the Syrian-Arabian desert. The chief person of his cafila or caravan was, according to his description, a Jew, who had gone over to the faith of Islam: in whom the Portuguese, who came to transact business in this country, and the Venetians, placed much confidence. On the 2^d September the caravan began to move. The account which Teixeira gives of his journey through the wilderness

man sect, members of which are scattered throughout Persia. — Over the tomb is built a large Mosque of white

is interesting. On the second day of his journey he perceived a mountain on his right hand, called by the Arabs Gibel Sinai (mount Sinai); near to which the natives place the ancient Bassora.*) The difficulties of a journey through the wilderness were not wanting; soon came the terrible Simoom to trouble him, and then the burning thirst, which so often tormented him in these dry and parched regions. Great was his joy at being able to quench his thirst at Reamelah, as the Arabs call this part. But of his wanderings through the wilderness we must not relate more here, lest we should overstep the space allowed us. Only this one remark we must make, — that there were Jews who journeyed with Teixeira in that caravan, who, as he said, separated themselves on Friday from the general company, because they would not travel on the Sabbath.**) After a journey of several weeks he approached the territory of Merat-Aly or Mam Aly, or Meshed- or Imam-Aly.†) On a Sabbath he entered the town, which was founded at the time of Ali. Here was consigned to the earth, after having wandered for several weeks in the wilderness tied to the back of a camel, the body of the founder of the celebrated Mahometan sect, which after him bears the name of the Aliïtes. The tomb is held sacred by the Arabs and a splendid Mosque is erected over it. The structure of this temple; which, when Teixeira saw it, possessed no longer its former interior splendour, gives evidence of the high artistic taste of those who erected it; as the interior itself reminds one of the well-known magnificence of the Eastern people. The Portuguese traveller was not a little astonished at the three large golden lamps in the temple, which were decorated with precious stones, and had been presented by the diffe-

*) Petachia likewise, the traveller of Regensburg, mentions p. 78 a Mount Sinai near Bagdad, which is said to form a chain with the sacred mountain of the same name.

**) Teixeira, 94: *quedando alli los Judios, por que el dia siguiente hera Sabado y no podian caminar.*

According to the Law the Jews are permitted, on account of the dangers to which they are exposed, to travel with a caravan on the Sabbath day. I was told of a traveller, who, through the strictness of his religious observances, left the caravan on a Friday, and furnished with a wallet and mat went into a little wood to celebrate his Sabbath: — it was his last. All enquiries respecting the non-appearance of the Jew were in vain; he was never heard of again. — I believe that these travellers were Karaites, who take the Bible literally. (Exodus XVI. 29.)

†) *Ibid.* 99: *Mexat Aly o Mam Aly que todo es uno, y quiere dezir Mesquita o casa de oracion de Aly.*

marble, the cupola of which is of silver gilt, with a massive gold spire. Around the Mosque is arranged a cemetery, in which the richest Mussulmen of Persia, within a distance of 30 days' journey, are buried; in order that they may rest in a spot made sacred by the tomb of their Prophet. The embalmed bodies are carried on mules in solidly closed coffins: and for every such body, brought past Bagdad, a tuman (persian gold coin of 55 piastres) must be paid. The souls of the dead, they believe, are led by their Prophet direct to heaven.

Near Meshed Ali is the town of Kelbella, in which only Persians reside. The inhabitants formerly paid no taxes, because the soil was considered holy, and even entrance into the town was denied to Jews and Christians. About nine years ago the Nasi Pacha of Bagdad insisted on the payment of tribute; they resisted, but were conquered and fled into the Mosque of Ali, where they imagined they would find shelter, but the Pacha had the Mosque fired upon: and upon this the rebels surrendered. The half-destroyed building was however afterwards rebuilt. The town now has a larger population, and is open alike to Jews and Christians.

After having visited these places I came back to Bagdad, and in October 1848 embarked for Bassora.

rent princes.*) The inhabitants of Meshed-Ali suffer neither Jews nor Christians among them; in fact no one who does not belong to their sect; for they bear a mortal hatred to all.**)

*) Teixeira, 199 ff.

**) *Ibid.* 101: *no assienta en esta pueblo Judio ni Christiano alguno, porque ellos tienen a todos odio mortal.*

CHAPTER XVII.

From Bagdad to Bassora. The desert El Ozeir (called by the Arabs Deser Asar).

Voyage on the Tigris. — The bird Debi-Kousch. — The tomb of Ezra in the desert El Ozeir. — Koath. — Suk-e-Shejuck. — Gumruk. — Gorna. — Bassora. — Mohamma. — Abeshur.

I had the choice of two routes; the one by land through the desert, the other down the Tigris. The way through the desert was too dangerous on account of the many hordes of robbers, so I decided on going by the Tigris, thus choosing the longer, but the safer and more convenient journey; though even in this case there are Arabs often lurking on the shores, who board the vessels, and plunder them of everything. I embarked in one of the sailing boats which cross the river. — On my way I was told of an enormous sized bird, bearing the name of Deby-Kousch, which follows the caravans, and feeds on its favorite food, camels dung, from which it takes its name. Later I myself saw this bird: it appeared to me to be a stork, although it looked larger than the specimens I had seen in Africa. It cannot fly, as it has only short wings; but is able with one flap to kill a man. When caught young, it is capable of being tamed.

About an hour's journey in the desert, we perceived a large square tower, terminating in a point. Four gates lead into it, and at its corners are large blocks of stone, about 24 feet in height, and 18 in breadth. The building is re-

markable on account of its beautiful sculpture; and according to the assertion of the inhabitants of the country, it is said to have been built in the time of the first Babylonian kings.

Three days' journey down the Tigris, in the middle of the desolate and barren desert El Ozeir, rises, on the shore of the river, a large square building, in which is the tomb of Ezra. The building is surrounded by some smaller houses, and contains two spacious rooms leading one into the other, of which the first belongs to the Mussulmen, and the second together with the tomb, to the Jews. A dim half-darkness reigns in the apartment, into which a faint light from without is admitted through the door. There is a catafalque here, 16 feet long, 10 high, and 6 broad. Inscriptions, now illegible, cover all the four sides of this catafalque, over which are spread costly tapestries decorated with gold; and many rich decorations ornament the room. Although in the midst of the desert, and surrounded by tribes of Arab robbers, there is nothing to fear for the safety of these treasures; as, from the veneration which the Arabs pay to the tomb of Ezra, they are safe from being robbed, and, according to tradition, no robber would be able to leave that sanctuary, without having first restored to its place that which he had taken away.

The ships cast anchor not far from this tomb and all travellers, without distinction of faith, betake themselves to it, in order to pray. The stranger, who has spent some days in the desert, cannot divest himself of a deep religious impression when, in the middle of the wilderness, he perceives this wonderful tomb.

The tomb of Ezra was for me an object of repeated inquiry; for as the Bible neither mentions his death nor the place of his burial, I entertained some doubts as to the identity of the tomb. From the Seder Hadoroth, and other historical works, I have however perfectly convinced myself of the fact. They relate that Ezra went to King Artasatha (from whom he received letters), in order to beg for some

advantages for his brethren dwelling in Jerusalem, and that he died near Babylon. The Bible likewise mentions one part of this assertion.¹ The place of burial is not distinctly named by the Seder Hadoroth; I therefore keep to tradition, as, after a most accurate investigation, I could not find anything more correct.² The anniversary of the death of Ezra is fixed on the 9th of January in the Selichot of the Portuguese Jews: the Seder Olam says that he died in the beginning of the year 3500, according to Biblical calculation.

Many Jews from Bagdad and Bassora celebrate the Feast of weeks at the tomb of Ezra, and take part in the pious ceremonies. The Arabs know the object of these pilgrims, and place no hindrance in their way.

Koath. Suk-e-Shejuck. Gumruk. Gorna.

After a further voyage of two days I arrived at Koath (Kut-el-Amara). Twelve hours' journey from this place is the small market-town Suk-e-Shejuck (named by the Arabs Sukasuk); it is reached from Koath by the canal Sheh-Sah, which unites the Euphrates with the Tigris. About forty Jewish families live here, they occupy themselves in trade; their situation is tolerable. A branch of the Tigris divides itself here into several small streams, and but a few hours' journey further on is a branch of the Euphrates. The Arabs use these small streams for irrigation by conducting them by trenches into their fields, in this occupation I have often seen them engaged. The Tigris here is so rapid that it carries away whole blocks of rock with it, and in its

¹ Ezra c. VII. 11.

² Benjamin of Tudela, p. 73, speaks of the tomb of Ezra. He says it lies on the river Samura on the Persian boundary, and many Mahometans dwelt there as well as 1500 Jews, who possessed four Synagogues. I found it in the desert. — Petachia, p. 192, places it on the boundary of Babylon.

headlong course overflows the shore. In vain do the inhabitants build dams to control the flood, and keep it in bounds. The course of the river is very changeable, and navigation is rendered difficult by its many windings. The neighbouring places are inhabited by numerous warlike tribes of Arabs, who are almost entirely independent, although the Sheik of the country acknowledges the rule of the Pacha of Bagdad by sending him occasional gifts.

Five hours' journey from this place is the village *Gumruk* on the shore of the Euphrates. The Turkish word „Gumruk“ signifies „tax“, and here tax has to be paid. From this place the Euphrates becomes very broad; its shores are planted with trees, and of palms in particular there are considerable woods.

Gorna lies on a sort of peninsula between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and is surrounded by fruitful trees and fields. Numerous herds graze here, and buffaloes are very numerous, the milk of their cows is so rich, that in an hour it becomes as firm as butter, of this fact I convinced myself. The Sheik demands a toll from the ships coming from Bagdad. Not far from Gorna the Euphrates and the Tigris unite into one stream, which then bears the name of Shat-el-Arab (river of the Arabs). The shores abound in woods, and navigation becomes safer, as the desert, the territory of the bandit Arab tribes, ends here. From the place where the two streams flow together, their waters are broad, and calm as a lake.

Bassora.

The town¹ is an important place of commerce, where, only about twenty years since, nearly 3000 Jewish families

¹ Kayserling, P. Teixeira; After a voyage on the Tigris from India, I arrived, on the 14th April 1604, at the ancient and strong city of

dwelt. This number is now reduced to 50.¹ A devastating epidemic decimated the population, so that a whole portion of the city is empty, and the houses fallen into ruins. In the centre of these ruins stand four Synagogues, of which however three are unused and empty. One now suffices for the little community. The Jews possess full liberty; they are all wealthy, and many of them carry on very extensive commercial transactions; they are besides hospitable and charitable, but their education is much neglected. Be-

Bassora. The town is particularly celebrated for its dates, which as Teixeira remarks, form the chief means of support to the inhabitants of this part, and are so fine and good that annually a large quantity of this fruit is sent to Bagdad and to Persian cities. Teixeira found the town in a deplorable condition: eight or ten days before his arrival, a powder-explosion had destroyed a portion of it and done considerable damage.*) It is surprising that he does not mention the Jews of this city, who in the time of Benjamin of Tudela, amounted to 2000.**) If however we consider that the 3000 Jewish families, who only 20 years since dwelt there, have now decreased to 50, it is quite possible that their number at the beginning of the 17th century was in like manner too inconsiderable for Teixeira to have anything to relate concerning them.

Near to this town he perceived a small house, in which native Moors performed their devotions. On his enquiry he ascertained that it was dedicated to Içá ben Mariam (Jesus, the son of Mary).†) At the same time those of whom he enquired told him that they revered the founder of the Christian religion as Ruyala (spirit of God), „espiracion de Dios“, as Teixeira adds in explanation.††) Without doubt these were remains of Christian communities, which had formed themselves at the time of the foundation of Christianity.

¹ Benjamin de Tudela, p. 73, speaks of it, and says that at his time 2000 Jews lived there. — Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Vol. 11, p. 1037, specifies 100 Jewish families according to Niebuhr. Now the number is decreased to the above statement.

*) Teixeira 77: *ocho o diez dias antes de mi llegada havia tomado fuego una casa de municiones y haviendo tocado en la poluora, ardiieron cinco mil y tantos odres . . .*

**) Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher) 73.

†) Teixeira 78: *pergunteles que casa ere aquella, respondieron me, que era dedicada a Içá ben Mariam . . .*

††) Ibid.: *los Moros lo veneran mucho llamandole Ruyalah, que es espiracion de Dios. (Ruy the Hebrew Ruach.)*

sides their commercial transactions they possess large plantations of date trees, the produce of which forms a considerable trade. I was informed there were 70 sorts of dates; but I only know 12 of them.

The Jews of Bassora, whose Nassi Rabbi Eliahu wished to have my opinion of a case concerning a Chalitza,¹ (see not above where the nature of this ceremony is fully explained) have peculiar customs at the burial of their dead. The body is borne in an open coffin on a bier hung with black, and, amid chanting of funeral songs, the procession passes to the place of burial. They stop seven times on their way; and at each time of stopping the funeral procession walks round the coffin with prayers and singing, and each person throws a piece of money into an urn placed upon the corpse. At the seventh halt the Chacham lifts up the urn, and says: „We know that no one in the world is free from the sin Sera Lebathalah,² which produces myriads of dark fiends, which come after death and torment the man, under the pretext that they are his children, and ought to have part in his inheritance. We therefore give to thee this money, in order that thou mayest let his body and his soul rest in peace. In the name of the Eternal and of His Holy Thora, and with the consent of the members of the congregation here present, we lay upon thee the Anathema, which shall compel thee to flee into wild and solitary regions, where thou canst no more persecute any one.“ On arriving at the burial place they go round the grave, and after having placed the body in it they return to the town.

The Stadtholder of the Pacha of Bagdad, a very polite and friendly man, desired to see me, and received me very affably.

The inhabitants of Bassora suffer from the scourge of leprosy,³ which rages particularly at the time of the ripening of the dates in the month of August, when scarcely any one

¹ Deuteronomy c. XXV. 9.

² According to a cabballistic acceptance.

³ Leviticus c. XIII. 9.

is free from this disease. The symptoms of this disease consist first of little blue ulcers upon the skin, which become grey, swell up, extend over the whole skin, and even attack the flesh. After recovery this illness leaves behind visible marks and scars. The Jews call this disease — which likewise appears in winter, though in a milder form — by its biblical name. Those who are attacked by the white leprosy never recover, as is mentioned in the Bible.

Near to Bassora are four large buildings fallen into ruins, said by the people of the country to have been the stalls of King Salomon, which, however, is most improbable.

From Bassora I went the Shat-el-Arab towards Mohammerah, situated at a distance of three days' journey on foot. With a favourable wind the passage by ship lasts three hours. This town belongs to the Persian dominion; there are no Jewish inhabitants. Hence I continued my journey by the Chor Bahmeshir, called by the Arabs Shat Mohammerah,¹ and arrived at the village Koi, which is at two days' journey distance on foot, and forms the extreme southern boundary of Asiatic Turkey. Hence I proceeded by the canal Shat-el-Arab to Mohamma, where the river flows by several mouths into the Persian Gulf.

From Mohamma, Abeshur, called by the Persians Bender Abeschur, may be reached in 24 hours.

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 73, speaks of a river Samura; it is possible that this is the Shat Mohammerah.

CHAPTER XVIII.

East Indies.

The ten tribes, their wanderings and dispersion. — Quotations and proofs.

From Abeshur I went by steam-boat to Bombay, where I arrived at the beginning of February 1849, after a voyage of 20 days. I pass over the details of my journey and of my visit to the principal towns of Hindostan — in which I passed a year — and shall occupy myself here only with the object of my journey, which was, to discover the lost ten tribes of Israel, Benay Israel. It is necessary first to cast a glance at the history of their wanderings, for which I take the Bible as my guide.

1) In the reign of Menachem ben Gedi, Pul, king of Assyria, invaded the land, but was induced to withdraw on the payment of a war-tax of 1000 centners of silver. (II. Kings XV. 19.) And again we find in the I. Chronicles V. 26. that the Assyria Kings Pul and Tiglath-pileser carried away into captivity the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the shores of the river Gozan (Ganges).

2) Under Pekah ben Remalyah, Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria, carried away the inhabitants of many Israelitish cities, and among the rest the whole tribe of Naphtali into Assyria. (II. Kings XV. 29. and Isaiah IX. 1.)

3) In the 9th year of the reign of Hoshea ben Elah Shalmaneser King of Assyria invaded the land. After a siege of three years he conquered Shomrom (Samaria) and carried away the residue of the ten tribes to Assyria,

Halah Habor, to the cities of the Medes and to the shores of the river Gozen (Ganges). (II. Kings XVII. 6.)

The kingdom of Israel was released after that by means of three events following each other; and the different divisions of the captive children of Israel were conducted to different places, the names of which were not always recorded. The Bible gives however different intimations concerning them. Thus, for instance, in Isaiah XI. 11: „And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set His hand again a second time to recover the remnant of His people, which shall be left, from *Assyria*, and from *Egypt*, and from *Pathros*, and from *Cush*, and from *Elam*, and from *Shinar*, and from *Hamath*, and from the island of the sea.“ — And further on it is written: „Fear not: for I am with thee: I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring My sons from far, and My daughters from the ends of the earth.“¹ — And finally: „Behold, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim.“²

Egypt and *Assyria* are well known. With respect to *Cush*, it is generally supposed that by that name Ethiopia and Abyssinia are meant; for Jeremiah says: „Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?“³ which has distinct reference to the colour of the skin. — Elam is Persia; as is evident from the Prophet Daniel, when he says: „Shushan in the Province of Elam;“⁴ and I believe that this one proof is sufficient. By an edict of King Cyrus the scattered tribes in this latter country were allow'd to return to their own land; this refers particularly to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin who with some Priests, Levites, and different members of the family of Aaron, alone

¹ Isaiah c. XLIII. 5. 6.

² Isaiah c. XLIX. 12.

³ Jeremiah c. XIII. 23.

⁴ Daniel c. VIII. 2.

returned to Jerusalem. To this I will add the remark that the name Cyrus in the Bible is called „Koresch.“ — A second return took place in the reign of Artaxerxes, but only the two latter tribes made use of this permission. Hence it follows that the exiles of Israel, together with a small portion of the tribe of Levi,¹ excluded from the benefit of these two edicts, remained behind in the cities of the Medes and other places, to which they had been transported according to the above quoted texts.

Halal and *Habor* are, as I believe Chilah or Hillah and Kabur-Kefil, to which the ten tribes were banished, whence afterwards they were removed further into the interior of Asia. — This subject has been likewise treated by former authors.

Skinar is the land of Kurdistan, which, according to the Targum Jeruschalmi, begins near the city of Nisibin.²

The word *Hamath* is explained in the first Latin Bible by „sunrise“; it means „heat“, in the further sense of the word „sun“, and consequently the place where the morning-star rises. The Hebrew expression „Hamath“ can therefore, I believe, signify all countries lying to the east of Palestine.

The islands of the West. This designation is a very extensive one; but the discoveries of celebrated travellers allow of the conclusion that by them is meant the West Indies.

According to the credible assertion of other travellers, I subjoin the following observations:

Pathrus is, according to the Mikwe Israel, Fol. 11, p. 2, the land of Parthia on the Black Sea.

„I will bring thy seed from the east.“ In these words the Bible speaks of the scattered Israelites in the lands of Shinar, Persia, Halah and Habor, in India and China, which last place the Orientalists call Tschina.

„I will gather thee from the west“ — has reference to

¹ Ezra c. VIII 15—20.

² Genesis c. X. 10. Messechet Pessachim Fol. 3, after the interpretation of the Tosefeth.

the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who are in certain countries of Europe, which, according to geographical calculation, lie in the west or north-west of Palestine.

The address to the south: Place no hindrances! has reference to Ethiopia, Abyssinia, and Nubia.

CHAPTER XIX.

The East Indies, from time immemorial, have been inhabited by many different tribes. I have devoted my attention especially to the six chief tribes, and have endeavoured to become acquainted with their habits and religious customs; of which I will here give a clear account. — As in the whole of my work I have occupied myself foremost with my brethren in the faith, I shall therefore mention them first.

I shall speak of the following tribes:

- 1) The Bene-Israel, or the white Jews.
- 2) The Canarinz.¹
- 3) The black Jews of Cochin.
- 4) The Banians.
- 5) The Parsees.
- 6) The Hindoos.

¹ Derivation from Cranganor.

1. The Bene-Israel, or the white Jews.

The tribe, which bears this name, as well as the Canarinz, which I also regard to be partly descended from the ten tribes, has lived in the East Indies since the remotest ages. I have the firm belief, and do not consider it difficult to prove, that the Bene-Israel are not only real Jews, but are likewise lineal descendants of the ten tribes, who in the time of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, were carried into exile by the Assyrians to Halah, Nabor, the shores of the Ganges, and the cities of the Medes.

I rest my assertion on the following facts and observations:

1) The systematic and strict separation which they observe towards the heathen tribes among whom they live, and their attempts to avoid all connexion with them.

2) Their exact and strict observance of the most important precepts of the Jewish religion; for instance, of circumcision, and of the celebration of the Sabbath.

3) The extreme care they take in observing all the ancient observances with regard to the slaughter of animals, and their abstaining from those which are forbidden in the Bible.

4) Their pious veneration for the rolls of the Law which, — although they are unable to read them, — they preserve in their Synagogues. These manuscripts of the Law are very ancient; the writing is of a reddish colour, which in the result of the work of time: in all other respects they resemble ours.

5) The name of their tribe which they have born for centuries, and by which they are known throughout Hindostan.

With respect to the descent of the Bene-Israel from the ten tribes, I add the following proofs:¹

¹ Ritter's *Erdkunde*, Vol. 2, part 5, div. 1, Asia, p. 594—601, asserts that they descend from the tribe of Manasseh.

1) The river Gozen, mentioned in the Bible, is according to the assertion of the Bene-Israel, no other than the Ganges which flows through India, on the shores of which this tribe dwells in great numbers. The Indian word „Ganges“ contains all the letters of the Hebrew word „Goshen“ (Gozan).

2) It is known that the Ganges has its rise in Upper Thibet, a country bordering on the kingdom of Cabul. From the side whence the children of Israel came to India the way through the desert is so dangerous and difficult, that only large caravans at long intervals venture to undertake, and up to this day only most imperfect and doubtful accounts are entertained respecting the people, who inhabit these wild and unknown regions. The Jews, who travelled through the desert, have, as it were, left a trace of their passage behind them; for several brethren remained there, whose descendants exist to the present day.

3) The Bene-Israel have no Cohanim out of the priestly tribe of Aaron, and no Levites. It is well known that the Jews of the German and Portuguese ceremonies, who spring from the kingdom of Judah, have, up to the present time, Cohanim and Levites, and pay them great respect; and that even in the Temple, they enjoy some privileges, in remembrance of the ancient rights of this priestly race. It is also known that the whole tribe of Levi, who performed the office of priests, was most closely connected with the fate of the royal house of Judah, and did not mingle with the unruly tribes of the kingdom of Israel.

4) The Bene-Israel dwelling in India formerly possessed a chronicle, which was written up to the time of their arrival in this country. Unfortunately during the many wars, which they had with Europeans, with regard to their occupation of the country, this chronicle was lost; the Bene-Israel being obliged always to flee from one province to another. The Bene-Israel of Cochin on the coast of Malabar possess however a similar document, and have preserved it among all the storms of ages. In this chronicle is written the history of the tribe from the period of its banishment,

in the reign of Hoshea, down to our time. For a long period this important manuscript was in the possession of the family Halagi, one of the most highly respected in the country. I had the most earnest desire to see this remarkable and interesting work; but could not. A traveller who visited these parts in the former century was more fortunate; he was even permitted to copy several passages from the chronicle, which are to be found in the Mikwe Israel, and are likewise mentioned by Dr. Jost in his history of the Jews and in our first edition of this work.

Near Bombay, about two hours' distance from Barkout, is to be found a community of the Bene-Israel, who live according to patriarchal customs. Their Nassi (chief, president) was a man of the name of Babi. I was told concerning them, that before the advent of the Europeans they had been a numerous tribe, and had been governed by a chief chosen by themselves, who had borne the title of Sheik. Being obliged to disperse, many of them sought a place of refuge in the remotest boundaries of Hindostan, where they enjoy a certain degree of independence. The accounts of other travellers serve to corroborate these assertions; as, for instance, the account of Gildemeister, who relates that at the beginning of the Christian computation of time in India, Jewish viceroys governed, from which it may be inferred that there was a numerous population of Jews. Dr. Wilson also, who was in India in the year 1839, speaks of the Bene-Israel in the neighbourhood of Bombay. The Bene-Israel in this colony dwell in houses surrounded by gardens, which they cultivate themselves; they are in general wealthy, and occupy themselves in trade and agriculture. With strangers they speak the Indian language, but among themselves Tamul, in which occur many Hebrew words. The features likewise of the Bene-Israel prove their descent; for although the influence of the country and of the climate may have caused in them some change, still the original peculiarity of feature has contained the same. But a few years since they were very ignorant with regard to all

matters of religion, and had entirely forgotten the Hebrew language, even so far as the knowledge of the letters, although, as before remarked, they carefully preserve several Pentateuchs in their Synagogues. Their divine service was confined to several external performances, which had been disfigured by length of time; but their veneration for the Mosaic law was deeply rooted in them, and to this day they ornament their manuscripts of the law with great care, approach them full of reverence, and kiss them fervently, after this they slowly retire in silent prayer. They had no Hebrew prayers, and with the exception of the *one* verse „Schema Israel“, all their prayers were in the language of their country: they entertained a firm belief in the coming of the Messiah.

Some Jews of Arabic origin from Bagdad and Bassora, forming a community of about 50 families, have, within the last seven or eight years, sent teachers and slaughterers among these dispersed tribes, in order to spread some knowledge of the precepts of Judaism among them. Although the Jews of Bombay are favorably inclined towards the Bene-Israel, they still do not consider them as real brethren in the faith, and avoid intermarriage with them, unjustly placing this tribe on a level with the Canarinz and other heathens. But the Bene-Israel eagerly lay claim to the name of Jew, and strive more and more to ally themselves with those of the orthodox believers.

Some Christian missionaries sometimes visit this tribe, but their endeavours to obtain proselytes have hitherto been unsuccessful.

I estimate the number of the Bene-Israel in this colony, and in other places I have visited, at about 2000 families.¹

In the town of Bombay live about 50 Jewish families from Bagdad, who have a Synagogue, but no Chacham only a Shochet. The richest of our brethren in the faith at Bombay are David Sasson whose name is well known through his

¹ Ritter's *Erdkunde*. Vol. 6, p. 1087, speaks of 800 Jews.

benevolence and riches, Moses Esra, Nissim, and Isaac David.

The Jews here are just as superstitious as those at Bagdad. One day the Shochet of the Congregation called upon me and told that he tho' having been married for several years was never the less refused the blessing of children. Thinking me a Chacham versed in the Kabbalah he requested me to give an amulet. I explaining to him the insignificance of such amulets reminded him of the strict exhortations of the Bible not to put any faith in superstitions but to confide only in the Lord Almighty, to whom alone he should offer prayers for children.

CHAPTER XX.

2. The Canarinz.

This Tribe which inhabits the coast of Malabar, offers a strange spectacle to the traveller. The Canarinz have no particular religion of their own, but perform the different religious ceremonies of other tribes living around them, believing thereby that they follow the only true and correct religion. Thus they have appropriated to themselves a great many Jewish practises, among which must be especially noticed the celebration of the Purim-feast (Feast of Esther), mentioned in a former page. At this festival, in order to give it a typical meaning, they make two figures of wood, dress them in splendid garments, and knock them one against the other, until one is broken to pieces. The broken figure is to represent Haman, the other Mordecai. In conclusion

they carry this childish game so far, that the figure of the old minister of Ahaswerus is hanged.

The origin of this tribe, and the period of their settlement in Hindostan is uncertain. I venture to start the notion, that it is a remanent of the banished ten tribes of Israel, which, in the course of centuries, and under the most unfavorable circumstances, has forgotten its Israelitish descent.

The author of the *Zemach David* and other writers relate that a great portion of the ten tribes have intermixed with the population of Hindostan.¹ Hence it may be concluded that the Canarinz originally belonged to these tribes, as, notwithstanding the difference of their worship, they believe only in one God as the Highest Being, and only marry among themselves; probably they have been compelled by circumstances to forsake the belief of their fathers, to which however in some observances they have always remained faithful. This assertion is the more easy of credit as, in other countries in Europe, particularly in Spain and Russia, similar facts were to be met with: thus in Russia, at the beginning of the present century, thousands of Jews, known under the name of Shobatnik (observers of the Sabbath), who had been compelled to apostatize, of their own free will again embraced Judaism, the faith of their fathers. I have compiled a collection of historical facts relative to the Shobatnik, and published them in the year 1855 at Tlemsan in Algeria, under the title: „Four years war of the Poles against the Russians and Tartars (1648 to 1652)“, to which p. 64—69 I here refer.² The

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 5, book 2, p. 599. It was told A. Buchanan in India, that the Jews who once passed over the Indus had become so intermixed with the people and customs of their new place of residence, that they were often by travellers passing-by, no longer recognised as Jews.

² A portion of the preface of this little work and the conclusion p. 61—63 were not written by me, but added by the French corrector.

Shobatnik, like the Canarinz, had completely forgotten their origin; they celebrated mechanically the traditional festivals of the Jews, and it only required an accidental circumstance to induce their return to Mosaism.

CHAPTER XXI.

3. The black Jews of Cochin.¹

In this town and in its neighbourhood dwell about 2000 black followers of the Jewish faith: their colour however is not quite so dark as that of the negroes. They are real Jews, very religious, and tolerably well-informed. Respecting their descent, the often mentioned Mikwe Israel relates, that after the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, about 10,000 fugitives with a great number of slaves wandered towards the southern part of Asia. The slaves, who had previously adopted the Mosaic faith, murdered their masters on this journey, and took possession of their property; but still continued to observe the ceremonies of Judaism.² (We suppose the Author here means that they practised some of the ceremonies.) This assertion does not correspond with the traditions which I collected on the spot itself; it is however possible that there were two tribes of black Jews, of which the one really descended from those slaves, while the other relates its origin as follows.

¹ See *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 5, book 2, Asia, p. 598.

² In the book just mentioned p. 600 it is remarked, that the black Jews believe themselves to be descended from the ten tribes.

The conquest of a part of Hindostan by the Europeans had opened immense facilities for trade, and had also tempted the inhabitants of other countries to this Eldorado, to which they wandered in great numbers. Among these adventurers were many Jews, who, young and unmarried, came hither from Bagdad, Bassora, Yemin, and other parts, to seek their fortune. These young men settled in the conquered provinces, and bought negro slaves, whom, when they had adopted the Jewish faith, they afterwards married. — This account given by the native black Jews of their descent is rendered feasible by two important facts; first, that the black Jews only dwell in those parts of the country inhabited by Europeans; and secondly, that their religious customs are the same as those of the Jews of the eastern rites — from whom it may therefore be inferred with certainty that they are descended. In favour of this opinion, and against the asserted descent from the slaves, can be likewise added the circumstances that their features, and their hair bear the type of pure oriental origin.

Dr. Buchanan, in the account of his travels, relates that this Jewish population possess Hebrew manuscripts and Pentateuchs on parchment, which formerly belonged to the Jewish fugitives, who, according to the Mikvey Israel, were murdered and plundered by their slaves. I myself have seen these documents, but found in them nothing particularly remarkable or interesting, either in respect to their antiquity or contents.

The black Jews bear the curse of prejudice on account of their colour. Just as most of the Jews of Bagdad avoid any connection with the Bene-Israel, so do the white Jews reject all connection with their black brethren.¹ I have noticed in general that the other Jews have more sympathy for their black fellow believers than have the Bene-Israel;

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 5, book 2, Asia, p. 599. The white Jews likewise look down upon the black ones, as upon an inferior and unclean caste.

for they take interest in their poor, and often have large commercial transactions with them. — The black Jews of Cochin rejoice when ever recognized as being brethren in the faith, and are likewise very hospitable to strangers of their persuasion.

The black Jews have their communities, their Chachamim and schools; they live apart from the others, and occupy themselves with trade, in which many of them have obtained a brilliant position. They have two or three Synagogues, large rooms without any ornaments, round the walls of which are placed benches, and in the middle stands the Bima (altar), from which the Pentateuch is read. The ceremonies are the same as those of the oriental Jews, but they sing the Piutim (hymns) in the Indian manner. They follow the Talmudic laws. — Their dress has no peculiar character, but is like that of the Bene-Israel; the rich according to the fashion of the Jews of Bagdad, the others like the Banians.


(I can't forbear adding here the following documents about the Jews of Malabar, from my lately published work „Three years in America.“)

During my stay at Newyork I endeavoured to obtain all the documents concerning the history of the Jews in America. Having learned that the Portuguese Congregation was the oldest in Newyork, I accordingly went to the Chasan of the Green Street Synagogue Mr. Leo, who was possessed of such documents. Among others I found a letter, which the Jews of Malabar sent to the Jews of Newyork, written in pure Hebrew and with square Hebrew characters which I append here as follows:

אלו המעשה של היהודים שכאו לארץ מלכ"ר:

מגלות בית שני חו"כ שהיה בשנת ג' אלה תתכ"ח
ליצירה יצאו הרבה יהודים איש ואשה ובאו לארץ מלכ"ר
ונתיישבו בד' מקומות ואלה שמותם. כ"נגנור. פא'קלור.
מדי. פולטה. ורובם היו בכנגנר הנקרא שינגילי והיה
תחת ממשלת שיר"ה פרי"מאל. ובשנת ד' אלפים קל"ט
ליצירה שהם שע"ט לנוצרים ניתן להם מן המלך שיר"ה
פרי"מאל ושמו איר"וי ברמ"ן חקים ופרטגמאות בטם של
נחושת הנקרא שיפ"רו למנהגם וגדולתם ובאותו הזמן
היו להם ע"כ בתים בכנגנור והנשיא שלהם שמו יוסף
רבן. וזה המלך שיר"ה פרימא"ל שחילק כל ארצו ונתן
לשמונה מלכים שהם מלך טורכנגור. כריכנגור. בלי
כוט. ארגוט. פלבטשירי. כולאסטירי. כורכניט. ומלך
קוגין. — וזה העתקה של טם הנחושת שנעתק מלשון
מלכ"ר ללשון הקודש.

בשלוש האלוה הוא מלך שעשה הארץ כרצנו.
ולזה אלוה נשאתי ידי אר"וי ברמ"ן שגוזר בפריטגא
זה שהרבה מאות אלף שנים נהג הממשלה שנה ושני
שנים בזה היום יושב בכנגנור וגוזר שהם ל"ו שנים
למלכותי. בגבורה אמיץ גזר. בגבורה אמיץ הרשה
ליוסף רבן ה' מיני צבע. חותא. רכיכת פול וסוס
וקריאה לפנות הדרך ולגייר מן ה' אומות. גר היום.
מצעות בארץ. מצעות הקשונים לניי. ומגדל הפורח.
צל דמאן. חצוצרות. תוף שמכה בשני עצים. ואת
הכל נתתו לו ולע"כ פתים ושכירות ארץ והמאזנים
עזב. ושאר המדינות שיש בהם תושבים ובתי כנסיות
יהיה הוא ראש ומושל. ובלי שום שנוי וערעור עשה

טם הנחושת ונתן לאדון של ה' מיני צבעים הוא יוסף
 רבן לו ולזרעו בנים ובנות חתן וכלה. כל זמן שזרעו
 קים בעולם. וכל זמן שהירח קים. וזרעם יקים ויברך
 אלוה. ולזה העדים ה' מלכים הנו' והסופר שכתב
 כילאפ"יו. וזהו חתימתו 

ונתישבו היהודים בכנגנור עד בא פורטוגיו וכיון
 שבא פורטוגיו היה להם לפוקה ולמכשל ויצאו משם
 ובאו בקוגין בשנת ה' אלפים שכ"ז ליצרה ומלך קוגין
 נתן להם מקום לבתים ולבית הכנסת סמוך לפלאטין
 שרו כדי להיות להם לעזרה. ונכנה פה בית הכנסת
 בשנת ה' אלפים שכ"ח ליצירה ע"י ד' אנשים גדולים.
 שמואל קשטיאל. דוד בלילא. אפרים סלח. יוסף לוי.
 ועדיין היו בגלות מפני פורטוגיו שלא יוכל לילך בחוקינו
 ולא יוכל לילך למחיתם במקומות שלהם והיה להם
 הרבה צער עד שבאו אולנדיו בקוגין בשנת אלף תרס"ג
 לנוצרים ה' יאנוארי ונתקשרו דעתם והיו שקטים ונחים
 עם אנשי מלב"ר

בעזר (ד') בקוגין יע"א

ובשנת אלף תרפ"ו לנוצרים באו פה קוגין ד' אנשים מן
 אמשטרדם. משה פוריאירה. יצחק אורגש. אברהם
 בורטה. יצחק מוכט. והם יהודים ספרדים סוחרים וראו
 כל המקומות שיושבים יהודים ושמוחו וכתבו לאמשטרדם
 כל הענינים וגם חסרון הספרים וכיון ששמעו שלחו
 מן ק"ק אמשטרדם מתנה לק"ק קוגין חומשים מחזורים
 ושלחן ערוך ואיזה ספרים אחרים ושמוחו כל הקהל. —
 ומאותו הזמן היו לנו אוהבים כאמשטרדם ואנו כותבים
 להם ומביאים ספרים שאנו צריכים עד היום ויש פה
 ספרים הרבה גמרות מדרשים וספרי קבלה ואין אנו

בקיאים כל כך באלו הספרים. אבל אנו הולכים כפי השלחן ערוך שחיבר יוסף קארו ומ:הגינו מנהג ספרדים.

בקוגין אנו הנקראים יהודים לבנים שהם אנשים שבאו מגלות ארץ הקדושה תוכ"ב כמו מ' בתים וא' בית הכנסת ולא יש עוד בכל ארץ מלכר אבל יהודים הנקראים יהודים שחורים. הם האנשים שנעשו במלכר מן גרות ושחרור וכלי שחרור בערכוביא. וע"ז אין אנו נותנים בנותינו להם ואין אנו לוקחים בנותיהם לנו. אבל מנהגיהם ומשפטיהם הכל כמותנו ויושבים בשבעה מקומות.

בקוגין יש כמו ק"נ בתים ו"ג בית הכנסת. באנני כאימל יש כמו ק' בתים וב' בית הכנסת. פרעור יש כמו ק' בתים. שיניט יש כמו נ' בתים א' בית הכנסת. טירטור יש כמו י' בתים א' בית הכנסת. מוטס יש כמו י' בתים א' בית הכנסת.

יציע ליד השם הטוב הנכון אל מול פני הארון רבי שלמה שמשון
שמו לעד אכ"ר מעיר קוגין לעיר נוי יארכ יע"א (מישאן) סוחר
ולור קרוב"ץ.

The History of the Jews in Malabar.

After the destruction of the temple and wandering of the Jews into exile which took place in the year 3828, there came many Jews, men and women, into the land Malabar and settled in many places namely Kangnur, Packlur, Modi, Puluta.

Most of them took up their abodes in Kanagur — sur-named Singili (Senagal) and placed themselves under the government of Sira Primal.

In the year 4139 a. m., i. e. 379 a. C. the king Sira Primal, whose proper name was Iru Bramin, conferred upon

them privileges and laws that were called in their way and manner „Seferu.“ About that time the Jews had their seventy two houses at Kangnur, also a prince (Nassi) of their own whose name was Joseph Rabban. King Sira Primal divided his kingdom and presented it to eight kings whose names were: Tirbengur, Krickengur, Klikut, Argut, Placktsiri, Kolastiri, Kurbiut and to the king of Kugin (Kotshin?).

(The following is a copy taken from the brass tablet and translated from the language of the country [Malabar] into Hebrew).


In the peace of the Lord the King who created the earth according to his will! to that God I, Iru Bramin, lift up my hands and swear; that God who has reigned and governed the world for so many hundred thousands of years and years. This day I am sitting on my throne at Kangnur and have reigned for 36 years after my ascending this throne. With great strength I command and with force I permit Joseph Rabban to wear five sorts of colours, to ride on an elephant and horse, and to order to make way for him when riding,¹ to convert from the five nations that live here, to use carpets and divans² as an ornament, to use flying towers, flates, trumpets, drums with two sticks, I have permitted him and the seventy two families all this; and also to lease lots and weights. He shall be the prince of all the provinces where these tolerated people will live and build synagogues. Without any alteration and without any reserved condition has he (the king) made this brass tablet and gave it to the Master of the five colours, Joseph Rabban, to his children, daughters, sons, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, so long as his posterity shall exist and

¹ The Jews in Persia are as yet not permitted to ride on horseback in the streets.

² V. 8 years in Asia and Africa p. 263 where you'll find that the Jews are not permitted in many places in those countries to adorn their houses.

the moon will exist. May his family long exist and be blessed by the Lord.

Witnesses to this were the eight kings, and the writer Kilafis who wrote the document.

This is the seal thereof 

The Jews remained at Kangnur until the Portuguese arrived there; the latter proving to the Jews to be their enemies they (the Jews) therefore left that place and went to Cuchin (Cotchin) in the year 5326 a. m. The king of Kugin appointed a place for their dwellings and synagogue near his palace in order to be more able to render them prompt assistance. There they built a synagogue in the year 5328 a. m. with the help of four men namely: Samuel Kastil, David Belila, Ephraim Zelach, Joseph Levi. They were still feeling the yoke of the Portuguese, since they could not yet conform to the precepts of the Thora, and could not have access to their former dwelling houses to follow their trade there; and this caused them much grief. In the year 1663 (on the 8th of January) there came at last the Duch and their heart rejoiced; and thus they lived together at Kugin with the other inhabitants of Malabar in peace, through the aid of God.

In the year 1686 a. C. there came to Kugin four men from Amsterdam: Moses Ferrara, Isaac Irgas, Abraham Burata and Isaac Muchata. They were Portuguese Jews and merchants, who visited all the places where Jews lived. They were glad to find us and wrote everything to Amsterdam. At that time a great want of books was felt among us. As the Jews of Amsterdam heard this, they sent, as a present to the Jews of Kugin, Chemshim, Machsorim, Shulchan Aruch and other books at which the whole Congregation rejoiced. Since that time we have got friends at Amsterdam; we correspond with them and they always send us such books as we need. Thus we are now in possession of a great many books: Gemaroth, Medrashim and Kabbalistic works, which in fact we are not able to comprehend well;

but we conform to the precepts of the Shulchan Aruch by Joseph Caro, and our Minhag is the Portuguese one.

In Cuchin we are called white Jews; for we are the descendants of those that went into exile from the Holy land, consisting of about 40 families and a synagogue There are no more in the whole country of Malabar. But there are the so called black Jews; they are the offspring of those that were converted to Judaism, slaves or free people. We don't intermarry with them. Their style of living does not differ from ours. They reside in 7 places: in Kuchin there are about 150 families and 3 Synagogues, at Bangi Kaimel there are about 100 families and 2 Synagogues, at Ferur about 1000 families and 1 Synagogue, at Shinut 50 families and 1 Synagogue, at Malah 50 families and 1 Synagogue, at Tirtur about 10 families and 1 Synagogue, at Muto 10 families and 1 Synagogue.¹

In a business letter written in English which I found there is this document mentioned, which I append here.

Chochin, 13 January 1790.

Mr. Solomon Simson, Newyork.

Dear Sir.

Embrace the opportunity of acknowledging the favor reception of your favor of Decbr. 88. And duplicate of yours of June 87 the original not having come to hand.

June 87. Am obliged for your generous offer of service and am sorry that had not the pleasure of seeing Mr. Haley to whom and Capt. Moore think myself much indebted for their recommending me to your acquaintance, as Mr. Haley is not here to refer to for the particulars concerning the trade of your place. I shall say little on that subject except acquainting that trade here is declining so fast as puts it beyond any hopes of its answering to our mutual or even to one of our advantages.

Dec. 88. Am happy to learn that Mr. Haley being recovered. My respects to him, also to Capt. Helme, am obliged for all the information you gave and agreeable to

request enclose here in the particular of our persuasion. Should Captn. Sarly touch at this post he shall meet every attention from

Dear Sir

your most devoted H. servant

שמואל בן מהרר אברהם זצ"ל¹

P. S. Saleth the sort you required is not procurable here. Best compliments from my ten (son) Abraham Samuels and his sponse and Mr. Solomon Norden from London to you and all your friends.

A letter without date went per sailing vessel to London from whence it was sent to Newyork on 13 Jan. 1787, as it is seen by the Post seal. Therein is contained the history of the settlement of the Jews in Malabar and the privileges bestowed on them by their king.

It appears that the Jews went straight from Palestine into Malabar after the destruction of the 2^d Temple in the year 3828, i. e. in the year 67 after the Christian Era.

¹ This document contradicts the assertion of Mikvey Israel and that of Measseph (1790, month Siwan and Shevat), the latter asserts that the Jews came from Hamogel (Mongolei) to settle in Malabar; and according to the former the Jews came thither from Thëman (Yemen).

CHAPTER XXII.

Journey to Cabul. The tribes of India.

My journey to Cutchin had for its main object the wish to see the above mentioned chronicle of the Bene-Israel; in which however I did not succeed; although I received from the natives the assurance that it was still in existence. I therefore returned to Bombay, and thence began my journey to Cabul by the following route. After seven days' journey through the mountains of Gath I arrived at Punah, and thence went on to Sholapoor, the first possession of the Mussulmen. After another journey of seven days I reached the city of Hydrabad, where ends the territory of the Mussulmen. Eleven days' journey further brought me to Crinsa on the Goubli, — nine days' travel more to Nagpore, and again eight days' journey to Rewah, which until now has belonged to the English. — I had travelled the whole distance from Bombay to this place in bullock waggons. From Rewah to Mirzapore on the Ganges (which belongs to the Hindoos) is one day's journey; and for this distance I used horses. After four days' travelling in a bullock waggon I reached the city of Allahabad, and went on in the same manner to Cawnpoore, which took seven days. From Cawnpoore to Delhi (eight days' journey), and to Amritsir (one day's journey) I again used horses. In Amritsir I joined a caravan going to Lahore on the Ravi and arrived there at the end of eleven days; here ends the English territory. With another caravan I went to Peshaur in Cabul, towards the borders of Afghanistan, and after I had crossed the Khyber Pass, arrived in seventeen days at

Cabul. The whole journey from Bombay to Cabul had lasted nearly one hundred days.

In many places during this long journey I met with some scattered Jews, but being unable to tarry on my way, I could not collect any particular information respecting them. Respecting the heathen tribes, their customs, and worship, I give the reader some of my observations, extracts from my work published in Algeria in the year 1854: „*Un an de séjour aux Indes orientales*“, written in French, and „*Nesiath Israel*“, journeys of Israel, written in Arabic, and printed in Hebrew letters.

4. The Banians.

The Banians are divided into several sects; some worship fire, some water, and others have the cow for their Deity. The customs of the fire- and water-worshippers are similar to those of the Parsees, of which I shall speak later. I therefore mention here only the last sect, — the cow-worshippers.

The sacred cow is to be known by several marks, and is venerated from its birth on account of its high destiny. It is never used for labour or service, and is always fed with the choicest wheat; she therefore gets extremely plump and her skin is smooth and glossy.

The worshippers of this Deity meet daily on a spot outside the town, and form a circle, in the centre of which the cow is placed. One of the priests preaches to the believers, and takes one, or more costly vessels, in which to catch the water of the sacred cow. This is mixed with a red colour, and each priest dips his finger in it, and makes a mark over his eyebrows.

As a covering for the head the Banians wear a turban, which is not, as is usual, wrapped round the head, but is

drawn in front over the forehead, and forms by knots their religious symbol, a horn. Their garments are white, they consist of a long robe buttoned in front, long European trousers, shoes, and stockings.

The Banians have a peculiar language, but likewise speak Indian, the language of their country. They have a particular dislike to eating flesh, even to milk, and live on a vegetable diet. Their children are betrothed in their third or fourth year, but remain according to an ancient custom in the East, until the age of maturity with their parents. If in this interval one of the betrothed should die, the survivor is condemned to perpetual widowhood, and this causes the great immorality among the women there. The latter wear a long silk dress, generally a red, and when they go out, a long veil, which hangs down on each side leaving the face uncovered.

The dead are not buried but burned,¹ and the ashes scattered to the wind; sometimes the family of the deceased collect some of the dust, and preserve it carefully in an urn. They do not believe in a resurrection; with them, death is a complete dissolution of the whole being, and they therefore believe that they are acting rightly in completely destroying the body. Only children under 18 months are buried, not burned, when they die: a peculiar exception, for which I could discover no reason.

By the English residents of the country, these customs are forbidden; but the Banians employ all their artifice and art in order to escape the vigilance of the authorities, and to persist in their traditional customs. I myself was a witness of one of these burial ceremonies: when the fire touched

¹ In the Bible is also to be found a passage (I. Samuel. XXXI. 12), where a similar custom is mentioned.

The practise of burning the body was in vogue among the Jews in the time of the kings; the body of Saul for example was burned in order that the Philistines might not ill use his body the Indians follow the same practise. (Vid. my work on América.)

the stomach of the dead body, it burst with a loud noise, like the explosion of a gun.

5. The Parsees.

A great part of this tribe belongs, as already said, to the fire- and water-worshippers; many however worship heavenly bodies, the sun, the moon, and the stars as Deities. Their daily worship consists in their meeting every evening, according to the sect to which they belong, at an appointed place in the open air, and praying. The worshippers of the sun place their hands on their heads and gaze on their source of light; the moon- and star-adorers stand after sunset in the same solemn manner, — their eyes turned towards their Deity. The water-worshippers go, according to the position of their residence, either to the sea or to a river; and, up to their knees in water, perform their devotions.

Each of these sects wears, as an outward sign of the worship, to which it belongs, a particular mark which bears some reference to it. We have already stated that the Banians, as cow-worshippers knot their turban in front in the shape of a horn: in the same way these sects wear badges. The sun-worshippers make a peak of their turban, which is made to fall over the right ear; the moon-worshippers have it over the left ear. The worshippers of the sun wear a cylinder-formed covering for the head, similar to our hats, without any ribbon, and in front it has a small shade, as a protection to the face. The stuff of which it is made differs according to the means and taste of the wearer; but it is always covered with little spots, intended to represent the stars. The fire-worshippers are dressed entirely in white like the Banians, and, as a badge of their sect, wear a red patch on their clothing.

All these sects live entirely on vegetables; their disgust to meat is even greater than that of the Banians, even the mere sight of it is obnoxious to them. One day in Bombay I saw two officials, one on each side of the street in which was situated the public slaughter house, who, in reply to my questions, told me that a rich Parsee who lived there had bought from the Authorities the right of preventing the carrying-about of meat, and that he had stationed them there as guards, and paid them well for it.

A particularly obnoxious custom of these sects, which in March 1849, I myself saw in Bombay is as follows: — Each year on three successive days the Parsees assemble in an open spot; begin a regular scuffle; beat each other, throw stones and dirt, and during this time give themselves up to the most dissolute and contemptible conduct.

On another day I was witness to a sight not less strange. A fire broke out in the town, and while from all sides the inhabitants hurried to the spot to put out the flames, the worshippers of that element, which was then committing such fearful ravages, threw themselves on the ground as if enchanted, and prayed.

6. The Hindoos.

Of all the tribes which inhabit the country, the Hindoos, the original Indians, are the rudest and the most uncivilised. Neither the heavenly bodies nor the elements, have they as Deity; but they take it from the animal world, and find it in that lowly animal — the goat. This they reverence as sacred, and in such a manner that every believer worships his own goat, which is tied to the door of his house. They milk the animal, and then pour the milk into the sea or the river, according to the situation of the place, where they dwell: in this lies their whole worship.

They eat flesh and fowl, but have no meals in common: every one eats alone. They go without any clothing except a loose band round their middle, which is tied to the body by a sort of girdle. The women wear short trowsers, like those used for bathing, and cover the bosom with a thin veil; arms and legs are bare. The Indian women are very reserved towards strangers, and see none except with those of their own people.

Although many among them are very rich, still in the cities they lower themselves to the performance of the most difficult and repulsing labour. The colour of their skin is more like copper than that of the other Indians; they speak only Indian.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Cabul.

After a journey of nearly hundred days I arrived at this town. It is very large, and well inhabited. Of my brethren in the faith I found here but few, and those had wandered from Bokhara. With respect to the town and its inhabitants, I can give no accurate or detached account, as it was not possible for me to remain here for any length of time. The town in consequence of a revolution which had taken place not long before, was still in a state of excitement; the cause of this, as I heard from my brethren there, was as follows:

A general belief prevails there in Metempsychosis, and the resurrection of the body; which latter however it is

supposed cannot take place unconditionally; but the right to it can only be acquired by a living being voluntarily sacrificing itself with the dead. If a man dies, leaving no children, his wife is immediately burnt with his body, for this soul full of life will serve the dead at the resurrection of the first-born soul, and then follows a second union of this faithful and loving couple.¹

The ceremonies of this human sacrifice are as follows: The body is laid out in a room for the space of eight days, but the survivor (man or woman) is ornamented, and conducted into a princely palace. In her or his presence, dancing, music, and games succeed each other, and three times daily the inhabitants of the place come and fall down before him as before a Deity. On the eighth day the survivor is splendidly dressed, and carried with the body out of the town to a certain place, where a little house is erected of very dry and combustible wood, in this the dead body is placed. The survivor is then solemnly carried seven times round the little house in which procession all, even children, take a part. After each time all present fall down before him. After the seventh turn they take from the sacrifice the ornaments and garments, and put it with the deceased in the little house of the dead, which is then set fire to at all four corners. In order to drown the shrieks of the sacrifice, the whole assembly join in hymns, amid the tumult and discordant sounds of tambourines. When all is reduced to ashes, the remains of the deceased couple are collected in an urn, and some time afterwards placed in a sepulchre.

The king of Cabul had an only daughter, whose husband had died. Soon after his decease, the priests came to the young widow with the request that she should comply with the sacred custom; for which the princess, who passionately loved her husband and entertained a blind

¹ Orig.: „the first-born“ or original „Soul“; the Soul possessed by the defunct in this world. (Translator's note.)

belief in the infallibility of this religious rite, expressed herself willing. The ceremony took place, and the ashes of the young and illustrious sacrifice to a barbarous prejudice were united with those of her husband.

The father inconsolable for the loss of his only child, fell into a state of deep melancholy, and determined to put an end to this unholy custom. At the hour of midnight he caused his guards to attack the dwellings of the priests, and many of them were murdered as an atonement for the death of his daughter. This sanguinary revenge excited to revolt a great part of the population, who clinged to their old customs; so that the king was obliged to seek refuge with the English, in order to save himself and his throne.

These events and the general confusion in the kingdom, which resulted from them, made it impossible for me to carry out my attention of continuing my journey to the mountains of Afghanistan, and compelled me to return to Calcutta.¹

With regard to one of the tribes which inhabits this country, I was told in Calcutta of a curious custom. On the shore of the Ganges dwells the tribe of the Barbarinades (barbarians), who do not consign their dead to the earth, but throw them into the fields. The Barbarinades likewise treat their sick in a very simple way: they take those who are seriously ill in a boat to the middle of the river; catch hold of them by the ears, and dip them three times into the water: if they die under this treatment, they are finally thrown into the river; but if they survive it, they are again taken home. As soon as a sick man recovered, they dress him in a long white garment, with a rope round his waist and a staff in his hand; without rest he is obliged to wander about like Cain, without ever being permitted to return to his own country. (We never heard or read of so horrible a custom. What crime has a person committed who must travel the world after his recovery from sickness. Transl.)

¹ In the French edition of this work, this passage is not clearly expressed.

— The Ganges often carries to Calcutta the bodies which this tribe throws into the water.

What the Jews of Cabul related in relation to the inhabitants of Afghanistan, corresponds with what the Courier-Litewski of the 8th October 1818 reports. This paper, which appears in Wilna, alludes as follows to this subject: „The inhabitants of Afghanistan are descended from the ten tribes. They contain about 4,300,000 souls, who are all nomadic. They form an independent people, have princes, and a government of their own, and their bravery in their wars with the English is well known.“¹

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde* 3. book. Vol. 8, p. 189. The Jews belong to the most remarkable of these strangers in Afghanistan, and the number of them there is very considerable. They are thought to be descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, who, having been made captive by the Medes, did not return to Jerusalem, but later, in the beginning of the caliphate, like many Nestorian Christian communities of Upper Asia perished by the sword of Mahomed or submitted to him; those in Bokhara (Benjamin of Tudela advanced as far as to them), Cashmere and Afghanistan resisted and endured cruel persecutions; but the greater part of them yielded. Many who had remained true to the faith of their fathers retreated to the extreme part of the upper country. The Afghans believe that they themselves are descendants of Israel; and according to Vansittart (in *Asiat. Res.* part 2) direct descendants of King Saul. Buchanan maintains that the number of Afghans really descended from the Jews can be but small, as their tribes are so very different even in language, feature and religion. At present very many Jews live in Cabul, whose commercial transactions lead them through the whole of Upper Asia to China. About 60 of these ancient Jewish colonies are mentioned in Upper Asia, India, and China, and a most intimate and lively connection is said to exist among them. No place could be more convenient as a link of communication than Cabul. Buchanan shows that there are two kinds of Jewish tribes in the more remote parts of Asia; the old or dark coloured Jews, which are hardly to be distinguished from the Hindoos, and live beyond the Indus, — and the light coloured Jews, who, according to their own assertion only emigrated here after the second destruction of the Temple. Al. Burnes has given us no new tidings respecting these Jews in Cabul.

I hope in my next journey to be able to examine this country more minutely, and I beseech the Eternal to guide thither my steps.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Jews in China.

From Cabul to Calcutta. — Journey to China. — Singapore. — Notices respecting the state of the Jews in China. — Extract from the Mikwe Israel. — Extract from the „Zeitung für Norddeutschland.“ — Menasse ben Israel.

From Cabul I travelled to Allahabad, Mirzapore, Benares, and Patna, and so to Calcutta. I consider it unnecessary to relate to the reader anything respecting Calcutta, since I could only mention what must be already known. With reference to my correlative religionists of whom about 1500 families dwell there, I can relate nothing new. They live in free and happy circumstances; some of them possess large business houses, and their habits and customs are similar to those of the Jews of Bagdad. They are all well educated, but have no regular Chachamim; one of the richest business men of the town Ezekiel Jehuda Jacob Sliman, a very enlightened man and a fine Talmudist, performs the duties of the Chacham. Some of the richest of our Jewish brethren there are: Joseph Ezra Kalifi, Reuben Isaac Secar, Ezekiel Ezra Kalifi, and Sason David.

At Calcutta, I set sail in one of the ships belonging to the East India Company, and sailed for Singapore, which

place I reached after a very tedious passage of 25 days. Here is a little Jewish community, whose elders are the sons of the above mentioned Ezekiel Jehuda of Calcutta. Although I tarried but a very short time in Singapore, I had still the opportunity of making the acquaintance of many of the Jews settled there, of whom however I learned nothing particularly worthy of remark.

Notwithstanding an indisposition, which was the result of my fatiguing journey, I determined to proceed by an English packet boat to Canton, which voyage lasted six days. Among my fellow-travellers I had a brother Israelite from Bombay, who was likewise proceeding to Canton. In the city of Canton itself no Jews are settled, though merchants from the most distant parts are to be found passing through the place. Immediately after my arrival I experienced a violent attack of fever, which compelled me to keep my bed for twenty days; and as I ascribed my illness to the climate, I again set sail to return to Bombay, and there my health soon improved.

The whole advantage my work derived from this journey to China was confined to some information I obtained from my brethren in the faith. From them I learned that no Jews dwell in the neighbourhood of Canton; but on the other side of the Yellow River there is a tribe, which every two or three years sends a considerable caravan to Canton with spices, colonial goods, dyes, tea, and other produce of the country. The people belonging to this caravan are known by the name of Havaia or Havaists, and pass for Jews. In fact the Hebrew word „Havaia“ (הַוַּיָּא) signifies „eternal, immortal“. Thus in this country, where people are named after their worship, Havaists would signify worshippers of the Eternal, a name which is very significant of the followers of Moses. I do not however venture by this translation of a word to prove the descent of this tribe: in order however to give it more weight, I add the verse from Isaiah which I have already quoted: „These shall come from

Shinar.“ According to the most credible accounts, Shinar is China.

Without doubt I should have been more successful in my researches, had I been able to make them personally; but from want of an account of my own, I add an important communication respecting the Jews in China, a letter written by a correlative living there, for which I am indebted to the kindness of his cousin, the chief Rabbi Aron Arnould in Strasburg. I give it to the reader literally, as well as the evidence of its authenticity. The letter is as follows:

„Last year, and since then, a second time, a few days ago, I saw some Chinese Jews. They had come from their particular quarter of the town in Kai-fang-fu in the province of Ko-Namri, in consequence of an invitation given them by some Arabian Israelites living there, and of some English missionaries, who were desirous of getting some exact particulars concerning them, as well as some Hebrew manuscripts and books. The travellers paid me a visit, and I had several conversations with them in the Hebrew language. They are known in China, and particularly in the province they inhabit, by the name of Pan-Kyin-Kian, which is said to signify „believers in sinew-tearing“.* According to their belief they come from a country which they call Jou-Tack (Judah), and about 1850 since emigrated under the imperial dynasty of Khann. By another pedigree they can be followed for 800 years. A Chinese emperor had a Synagogue erected for them but it is now in ruins. They keep to their religion with that firmness which characterises the Jews up to the present day, and they only marry women of their own faith. For the last 40 years they have had no

* Translator's note. See Genesis c. XXXII, 32. The Jews still take great care to cut away the sinew of the thigh of such animals as they intend to eat. In many places they will not eat any of the hinder quarter; because great nicety and skill are required to take away this sinew as it should be done, and but few know how to do it with exactness.

Rabbis, being too poor to be able to support them. They do not read Hebrew, and the whole of the present generation is uncircumcised, because men capable of performing the rite are wanting. (This appears very doubtful as wherever many Jews are located no matter in what part of the world, they have a moheel. Transl.) They are not however wholly ignorant as to customs, and those which they observe entirely agree with ours. They left me several Hebrew Bibles, and promised to give me a copy of their tablets of stone, which have reference to their wanderings, and are written in Chinese letters. They also possess the Sefer Thora (Pentateuch), Tephilim (for the ceremonies of daily service), Zizith, and Arba Kanfoth. They intend to bring one or two boys here, in order to have them taught by the Arabian Israelites in Hebrew, and in the rites of our worship. During the wars of the Tartars with the Chinese, a part of them went to the neighbouring province She-Kiang, and settled in Kangcheou, which city I intend to visit. Many of them to Arnoy in the province of Fokien. These homeless people are scattered in Peking, and in the whole of China, and live everywhere in the same state of degradation and ignorance. In Kangcheou and Arnoy there are no Synagogues. In Kaifang-fu their number amounts to nearly 10,000; in Tchangcheou to between 1000 and 2000; in Arnoy they are more numerous.

Their features are like those of the Mongols: those I have seen are very intelligent and well informed as far as to their Chinese education and knowledge go. They speak the language of the Mandarins, and still make use of some biblical names, such as Moses, Aaron, etc. They likewise know the names of Jerusalem and Mizraim (Egypt), whence they say they have come. They likewise speak of the bondage of the Jews in Egypt, and possess several fragments of our history, religion, customs, and habits, which they have obtained from tradition.

The English missionaries have gained possession of a very ancient Pentateuch, which these Jews had, and sent it

to England. They obtained it by making them believe at first that they only wanted to inspect and copy it, and then offering to purchase it. As some cheating took place with respect to the sum of money paid by the English missionaries, the Jews wished to have their Pentateuch restored to them, which, it was pretended, had been sent to England. They have come back again this year to have this affair settled, in order that they may be able to justify themselves to their community, and demand with right the restoration of their books; for they refuse to take money for them in exchange, saying, that they are neither able nor willing to sell them. They will even await the return of their books from England, but the missionaries refuse them every return in money, or in any other way. But the Jews will now return again in three months, and make their cause complaint known to the English Ambassador."

This notice is a literal extract from a letter of my cousin Aaron.

Strasburg, Nov. 13th 1855.

Aron Arnauld, Chief Rabbi.

The French original is:

J'ai vu ici l'année passée, et depuis, une seconde fois, il y a quelques jours, des coréligionnaires chinois. Ils sont venus de leur quartier principal de Kai-fang-fou dans la province du Ko-Namri, pour se rendre à l'invitation de quelques Israélites arabes résidant ici, ainsi que de missionnaires anglais. Ces derniers désiraient se procurer des renseignements exacts et des manuscrits ou de livres hébreux. Les voyageurs sont venus me voir, et j'ai eu avec plusieurs conversations en chinois. Ils sont connus en Chine, et particulièrement dans la province qu'ils habitent, sous le nom de *Pan-Kyin-Kian*, ce que signifie: *Religion de arracheurs de veines*, ou, comme on l'a traduit en anglais: *Pluck sinew religion*. Ils sont originaires d'une contrée qu'ils prononçaient: *You-Tâk* (Juda), il y a 1850 ans, sous la dynastie *Khann*. Une seconde colonne les a suivis, il y a environ 800 ans. Un empereur chinois leur a bâti une synagogue, qui est à présent négligée, tombée et devastuée. Ils observent leur foi avec cette tenacité caractéristique qui distingue la race de Hébreux, encore aujourd'hui, ils n'épousent que des femmes de leur propre religion. Mais, depuis plus de 40 ans, ils n'ont plus de Rabbins, étant trop pauvres pour les entretenir. Ils ne savent plus lire l'hébreu, et la plupart de cette génération, ou plutôt la génération entière de notre temps n'est

point circoncise, n'ayant point de circonciseurs. Ils ne sont cependant pas trop ignorants des rites, qui sont parfaitement d'accord avec les nôtres. Ils m'ont laissé quelques livres hébreux, et m'ont promis de m'envoyer une copie de tablettes de pierres, en chinois, qui ont rapport à leur émigration. Ils ont aussi des *Séphar-Thora*, *Thephilin*, *Zizis*, *Arba-Kanfoth*. Ils ont l'intention d'amener un ou deux petits garçons que ces Israélites arabes instruiront dans l'hébreu et dans les rites de notre culte. Pendant la guerre de Tartares et de Chinois, une partie d'entre eux s'est transportée dans la province de *Che-Kiang*, voisine de celle où est située notre ville, et s'est établie à *Kang-Tchou*, cité que je me propose d'aller visiter, et une autre partie est à *Arnoy*, dans la province Fo-Kien. Il existe de ces émigrés également à *Pékin* et par toute la Chine, mais toujours dans le même état de décadence et d'ignorance. A *Kang-Tchou* et *Arnoy* ils n'ont point de synagogue. Leur nombre à *Kai-fang-fou* monte environ à 10,000; à *Kang-Tchou* il est de 1000 à 2000; ils sont plus nombreux à *Arnoy*. On m'avait amené aussi un Israélite de *Kang-Tchou*. Leurs traits sont presque entièrement conformes au type de la race des *Mongols*. Ceux que j'ai vus ici sont très-intelligents et bien instruits, j'entends en fait d'éducation et d'instruction chinoise. Ils ne parlent que le *mandarin*, mais ils se servent encore de noms bibliques, tels que Moïse, Aaron etc. Ils savent aussi les noms de Mizraïm, Jérusalem, d'où ils disent être venus, racontent l'esclavage et les servitudes des Hébreux en Egypte, enfin ils possèdent des fragments, des débris de notre histoire, de notre religion, de nos mœurs et de nos coutumes; notions qui leur ont été conservées uniquement par tradition.

Les missionnaires anglais ont accaparé des *Séphar-Thora*, très antiques, et les ont envoyés en Angleterre; je dis accaparé, car les Chinois que les missionnaires ont envoyés à *Kai-fang-fou* ne leur disaient pas que l'on voulait les acheter, et leur faisaient accroire que l'on ne désirait que les voir ou les copier. Quant à l'argent envoyé par les missionnaires anglais, comme il y avait eu des malversations, les Israélites, avant leur départ, demandaient la restitution des *Séphar-Thora*, qu'on leur a dit avoir été envoyés en Angleterre. Ils sont revenus cette année-ci pour tâcher d'arranger cette affaire, afin de se justifier vis-à-vis de leur communauté. Ils réclament avec justice la restitution des livres, et refusent d'accepter de l'argent, en disant qu'ils ne peuvent et ne veulent pas les vendre. — Enfin ils consentent à attendre qu'on les ait fait revenir d'Angleterre; mais les missionnaires leur refusent toute satisfaction, soit en argent, soit autrement. Ils comptent revenir encore dans trois mois pour faire valoir leurs réclamations auprès du consul anglais.

Cette notice est extraite littéralement d'une lettre écrite par mon cousin Aaron.

Strasbourg, le 13 novembre 1858.

Aaron Arnould, Grand-Rabbin.

In the Mikvey Israel there is an account of the Jews in China, a report of the missionary Matthias Bachia, which we gave in the first edition of this work, and to which we only refer, as it is almost generally known.

In the *Zeitung für Norddeutschland* (Nr. 2797, Evening Edition, March 1st 1858), which is published in the town where this work is published, we read a notice respecting the Jews in China, which we here subjoin, as a confirmation of our above-mentioned statement. The article is as follows:

„It has been known for some length of time that in Kai-fang-fu in Honan is a Jewish colony. The Catholic missionaries in the last century 1704 and 1774 gave information with regard to it. A large sum of money, given by a lady to the London Society for the conversion of Jews in order to obtain information respecting them in the country, induced the Bishop of Hong-Kong, Dr. Smith, 1850 to make inquiries through the London Missionary Society at Shanghai, and this society on the 25th Nov. 1850 sent out two clever converted Chinese for that purpose. As Shanghai is only 600 English miles distant from Kai-fang, the Chinese returned in a few days, bringing with them two Chinese Jews; the one 40, the other 45 years old; one possessed real Jewish features. With exception of their circumcision and religion, they had become quite Chinese in their language, dress, habits, and customs; they likewise bore Chinese names.

The most interesting things they brought with them were 8 manuscripts, with portions of the old Testament in the Hebrew language, most of them in large rolls, but a few in smaller form, distinctly written on very thick parchment, or upon sheepskins with vowel-points. The manuscript of Exodus I—VI agrees with our publication. They possess little more than the books of Moses. The Jews are said to have come from the north west of India to China about the third century after Christ; at first to have remained secretly in Ning-hia, Hantcheou, and Peking, but later to have settled

in Kai-fang-fu. In 1163, the Emperor Hiao-tsung permitted them to build a Synagogue. In 1446, owing to a great inundation, most of their books and parchment rolls became illegible, and the Jews of Ning-po and Ning-hia replaced them. Between 1573 and 1620 the Synagogue and the books were burnt; in 1742 an inundation destroyed the town, and they bought the five books of Moses of a Mohametan from Ning-hia, who had them from a Jew at Canton. P. Kögler saw this book. There are now about 200 individuals in and about Kai-fang-fu. Their family names are quite Chinese. A few of them keep shops, some are peasants; but the most of them are so poor, — without clothing or shelter, — that they sell the valuable things of the Synagogue, in order to keep themselves alive. They keep the Sabbath on Saturday. The boys are circumcised within a month after their birth. They wash themselves before entering the Synagogue (Li-pai-fu), which consists of three naves; and for this purpose there is a bath on each side of the Sanctuary. During divine service they turn the face towards the West, towards Jerusalem. A Hebrew teacher is said to have died here about fifty years since; at the present moment there is no one able to read Hebrew. In China the Jews as well as the Mahometans are able to arrive to all offices and honours. Like the Chinese, they call God, Shangtti. After the example of the Chinese, in their place of prayer they likewise honour their holy men (Tching-jin), such as Abraham and others. Unimportant as this colony is in itself, it is still famous; for it shows how the firm nationality of the Jews in some degree overpowers even the nationality of the Chinese.

(I can't refrain from adding here the following interesting document.)

I found in Newyork a letter dated 1794 which the Portuguese Jews of that city sent to the Jews in China. The letter is as follows:

ב"ה נייא יארק ר"ח שבט תקנ"ה באלף הששי ליצירה:
אליכם בני ישראל אקרא לשלום: אך טוב וחסד
ורב שלום.

ראה ראינו וקראנו מספרי מסעות אשר נדפסו
מחדש מן גלח אחד ערל שמו. אלכסנדר גרוסטיאן:
שהיה במדנתכם נקרא טשעני (חינא): ומצא שם יהודים
והוא היה בכיה"ב שלכם וראה שם י"ג פתחים לארון
הקדש אשר בתוכו תורת משה: לכן בקשנו מאתכם
לכתוב לנו אם אמת אתו: ולהודיע לנו מספר בני ישראל
שיש שם ומאיזה שבט אתם: ומאיזה עת אחר חורבן אתם
גולים לשם: ומה מנהגכם: ואם יש אתכם ספרי תורות
ושאר ספרים: ואם יש לכם שלוח או גלות: ומה מעשיכם:
כמו שאנו קבלנו כתב מן ארץ מלבר מן אחב"י: אשר
הם יושבים שם בשלוח גדול: ויש להם נשיא אחד בשמו
יוסף רבן: והרשה חמלך: מלבר לו ה' מיני צבע: ולגייר
מן ה' אומות: והוא יהי ראש ומושל על כל כ"י הדרים
שם: כל זמן שזרעו קיים וירח קיים: ואנכי הננו מודיעים
לכם שאנו יושבים בכאן מדינת אמעריקא בני יארק
ובשאר מקומות בשלוח גדול: וישראלים יושבים עם ערלים
על הדין הן דיני נפשות הן דיני ממנות: בכאן יש
כמו ע"ב בעלי בתים ויש לנו ביהב"ג הנקרא שארית
ישראל: ושאר מקומות עם בתי כנסיות וכולם יושבים
בשלוח גדול: לכן אם יש אפשר לכם לכתוב תשובה
עם מהות ונימוס של מדינתכם והיה לנו לנחת גדול
ומשיבת נפש: ועלינו לשרתכם ככל אשר תצוו עלינו
כה דברי הכותב הדורש שלומכם

הקטן אלכסנדר בר צבי ז"ל
הקטן שלמה בר יוסף ז"ל

ע"ש אם יש את נפשכם לכתוב לנו תשובה: אזי שימן
 כתבכם בנייר הלק המונח בתוך אגרת זו אשר כתוב
 מבחוץ בלשון אנגליטירה לשמי וכוודאי יגיע לירינו ממש
 לעיר קעפאנג במדינת האנאן ליד פרנסים
 וזקנים בעיר הנ"ל כמשעני

(Translation of the letter to China.)

Newyork, Shewat 5555 a. m.

I salute you, and wish you peace, children of Israel;
 may prosperity, grace and peace be your portion.

We have seen and read a book of travels published of
 late by a Christian Clergyman who has visited your country
 China and found there Jews. He says he was in their
 Synagogue and saw there 13 doors in the holy tabernacle
 in which the Thora (Law of Moses) is kept. We therefore
 request you to inform us whether he published the truth
 concerning you, and to forward to us kind information
 about the number of the Jews in China and what tribe they
 descend from and at what time after the destruction of
 the temple they came to China. You will likewise acquaint
 us with your customs; wether you possess the books of the
 Thora and other books, whether you live in peace or op-
 pression, and what is your occupation. We have in the
 same manner received a letter from the Jews of Malabar
 who live there in prosperity. They have a Nassi of their
 own named Joseph Rabban, whom the king of Malabar has
 permitted to make proselyts from five nations, and he and
 his descendants are always to be the Governors of the Jews
 there as long as the moon will shine and his family will
 exist.

At the same time I write you that we live here, in
 Newyork and other places, in America in peace, and that
 Jews have the same right with Christians to be judges, as
 well in money matters as criminal affairs. Here, at Newyork,
 there are at present about 71 Jewish families. We have a

Synagogue called Sheerith Israel. There are likewise many Synagogues in several other places where the Jews live in peace. If you are able to send us an answer concerning your habits and customs of your province you will cause us great joy, and we shall always be at your service.

These are the words of the writer who wishes your happiness.

Alexander Hirsch.

Salome Joseph Simson.

If you write to us please put your letter in the enclosed envelope upon which there is written an address in English, through which it is sure to reach us.

To the town Kaifung in the province of Henan, for the elders and leaders of the congregation of your town in China.

They have given this letter to Capt. Howell to whom they have written the following note. The Captain upon his returning from his voyage delivered the note back asserting that he could not find any Jews there.

Newyork, Juny 22. 1795.

Sir.

You have herewith a letter in Hebrew directed to the Elders of the Jewish Congregation at Cac-fong or Cac-fongford, in the province of Honan these people are not called Jews by the Chinese, but are called Jiaokin Kiwo by which name you will please to inquire for them. If you should not meet with any of them, then please to get some person to direct it to them in Chinese agreeable to the above.

Your Compliance may bring some account from these people that may serve to amuse the literati and will in a particular manner oblige me. Sincerely wishing you a prosperous voyage and safe return I am, Sir

your H. & H. servant
Solomon Simson.

This letter was directed to „Capt. Howell. Bound to China.“

On the cover the following words are written, „Capt. Howell could not discover them.“

CHAPTER XXV.

Particulars respecting the Jews of Yemin (Yemen) in Afghanistan and in Tartary.

(According to the statements of travellers.)

From the often mentioned chronicle, which is to be found in the Mikwe Israel, we also learn that the Jews of Yemen in Arabia likewise are descended from the ten tribes. It is possible that the members of the faith scattered in the country, after having been compelled for a while, under the oppression of cruel rulers and people, to give up the faith of their fathers, in later times returned to Mosaism, and have remained firm in their adherence to it up to the present day; for I have found no mention that, since that time, Jews have settled in these countries.

I have gathered the following statements concerning them: In the year 1522 Nibuar, a captain in the Danish navy, who had been sent out by Frederic V, found in Yemen many Jews: especially in the capital, Sana, where he numbered almost 2000 souls; and the accounts he gives are most interesting and valuable.

In the year 1846, when I was at Cairo, I lived in a Caravanserai with three Jews from Sana, of whom one was tolerably well instructed in Hebrew. Among other things,

I asked them about their condition and descent; they answered, that their forefathers had been there since the destruction of the first Temple.

In the year 1849, at Bombay, I made the acquaintance of a Chacham from the same place, who added the following statement to the foregoing. From the traditions of their forefathers, the Jews of Sana, had heard that Ezra, after his sojourn at Babylon, had visited the exiles of Yemen, in order to induce them to return to their country. But this they refused to do, as they imagined that this freedom would not be as general or as lasting as that from the bondage of Egypt, and because they would not lay themselves open to renewed persecution. Enraged at this refusal, Ezra had given utterance to a curse upon them, prophesying against them continued misery and oppression. They also had cursed and blasphemed Ezra, beseeching God not to permit him to see Jerusalem again. — This double curse appears to have been brought into fulfillment: Ezra's tomb is in the desert between Bagdad and Bassora, as we have already recorded; and the Jews of Yemen languish in the most cruel debasement and in the deepest poverty unto the present day.

The Danish captain whom we have named likewise relates, that in the vicinity of Sana, and in Arabia Felix, there are many Jews, who in the midst of the desert live as independent tribes.

Even at the time of Maimonides the existence of Jews in these localities was known; for I myself have possessed the copy of a letter which was addressed to those of Yemen. However, up to this day no one has thought of seeking information regarding our brethren in the faith in these parts.

In Bombay I became acquainted with a Jew from Bagdad, who had travelled through Persia, where he had ac-

quired a little fortune. He related to me the following, respecting our Correligionists.

In the year 1847, he, in company with another Jew, had travelled with merchandise from Teheran to Bokhara in little Tartary. Half way, about eighteen days' journey from Teheran, lies Meshed; from thence to Bokhara is about twenty-two days' journey; and from this latter town to Cabul extends a desert of great extent, which is inhabited by several tribes, partly stationary, partly nomadic. Some of them still bear ancient biblical names. Thus are found there the Hagarites, of whom it is mentioned in the Bible that they waged war with the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh; and very likely carried them away captive to Halah and Habor;¹ also the Togarnites and the Aramites.

These wild but still hospitable tribes plunder the caravans, and carry the travellers into slavery if they pretend to offer any resistance. — The caravan, with which our traveller passed through the desert, met with a similar fate; and the conquerors led the rest of the travellers to their village. There they were examined to see if any one from a friendly tribe should be among them; during the course of this investigation it came to the turn of our traveller and his companion, who both stated they were Jews, and my acquaintance gave himself out as a Hakim-Baschi. His master expressed himself much pleased at this, gave him a decent lodging, and treated him very respectfully. The other Jew, who had no title to boast of, and was not so very educated, was treated with much severity, and made to labour in the fields. The pretended physician had continually patients to prescribe for, and chance favoured his remedies. Six months thus passed without making the smallest change in the condition of the two prisoners. Our traveller, however, had observed that his master was very avaricious, and he took advantage of this and said to him one

¹ I. Chronicles c. V. 19. 20. 26.

day: „What benefit do you derive from supporting me?“ (for the patients paid nothing:) „Should any of my religion live somewhere in the neighborhood, conduct me and my brother to them, and they will ransom us.“

To this his master answered that six days' journey distant in the desert lived some Jews, with whom his tribe was on a friendly footing; and after some persuasion he expressed himself willing to conduct his two prisoners thither. Joined by several companions, he set out with them on the way, and they arrived at the village of the Jews. Before reaching it, he left the prisoners under the charge of his comrades, and went himself to the chief of the place. When the latter heard that two of his brethren in the faith were captives, he immediately hurried out of the village to them. He asked them from what country they came; to which our traveller answered that they were from Babel (Bagdad). „The name of Babel is known to us“, said the Jew, „for we know that our fathers were once there in bondage; yet we have never seen an inhabitant of that country.“ — The acquaintance having been thus made, the ransom was talked of, for which the master of the two prisoners demanded an extravagant sum. But the chief of the Jewish village answered: „We will pay the usual sum for these two men: if you will not accept that, we will take them from you by force.“ As this threat was supported by many inhabitants of the village who had been drawn to the spot, the matter was soon settled; and a ransom was paid for both the prisoners of 1200 karans (a Persian silver coin, worth five piasters; the whole sum amounting therefore to 6000 piasters); and the liberated captives were then conducted into the village in the midst of great rejoicing and festivity.

Our traveller then enquired if any other Jewish tribes dwelt in the vicinity, and received for answer that several other Jewish tribes lived at a distance of ten days' journey; that the road to them was very dangerous, on account of its being infested by nomadic hordes of robbers; but if he

wished to visit these brethren in the fait, it would be best to wait until he could join a strong caravan passing that way: fearing to fall again into the hands of robbers, he remained. A wife, a house, and a piece of land were offered to him, and he was entreated to settle among them; however our traveller refused; for he was already married, and longed to return to his family. They tried to console him, telling him, that he should have patience; that from time to time a caravan passed by, which was always joined by some Jews, and with such a caravan he could leave for his home. After waiting anxiously for two months, a caravan at last arrived, and our traveller joined it; but his companion, who had married in the meantime, remained behind. After a dangerous and difficult journey of seventeen days, he reached Cabul; from thence proceeded to Calcutta, and later to Bombay, where I made his acquaintance.

During my stay at Cabul, I received from a fellow-believer a confirmation of the above statement, and ascertained that the Jews of Balach, thirteen days' journey from Cabul, had ransomed him and set him free.

But the Jew was unable to answer my principal question respecting the origin of these tribes, or the time when they settled in the desert. In the memoranda, of which I was robbed, I had noted down several particulars respecting them, which have now escaped my memory.

Thus, even to this day, Jewish tribes are wandering among the nomadic tribes of the desert.

In Bombay I became acquainted with a fellow-believer from Bokhara, named Messiah; from whom I obtained information respecting the Jews who dwell there. My acquaintance had been obliged to flee from Bokhara, because he had given protection in his house to an English missionary. He was pursued by the treacherous policy of the Governor of Bokhara, who allows no European to enter his country,

much less does he allow the circulation of books. The missionary he had saved afterwards wrote him a letter full of the liveliest expressions of thanks; this letter I myself have seen. — He told me that nearly 2500 Jewish families live at Bokhara and its vicinity, who support themselves by trade, agricultural labour, and mechanical employment. They are compelled to wear on their garments a piece of old stuff, by which they can be distinguished from the Tartars. He likewise mentioned that a great number of Jews dwell in the north of the country, near the Russian frontier; a fact, which is confirmed by other travellers to these parts. It is known that they have dwelt there for several centuries, and that formerly they bade defiance to powerful neighbouring kings.¹

An Israelitish merchant from Tabur, whom I met in the year 1850 at Teheran, related that in that town, and in the districts round about, dwell in the neighbourhood 12,000 Jewish families; and he added that in Great Tartary the Jews had built cities, the names of which he described to me. The time of their settlement is said to date from the 6th century. Persecuted by the Chinese, who tried to compel them to abandon their faith, they had settled in Great Tartary, where they lived free, and on the best terms with the natives. The chiefs were chosen equally from among the Jews and Tartars, and both shared alike the dangers of war; but the Jews contracted no marriages with the Tartars, and adhered strictly to their own worship. It is worthy of note, that they all believe themselves to be from the tribe of Reuben. — I afterwards asked him if they possessed the scriptures, prayer-books, or any guide for the regulation of their rites, to this he replied, that a Polish Jew, who had visited them about 40 years before, had given them a complete Bible, which however they were not able to read; that he himself had given instruction to several among

¹ Pethachia p. 170, does not recognise the Jews in Tartary as real Jews; because they do not follow the Tamul customs.

them, and later had sent them Bibles and Pentateuchs. — They perform several of our religious ceremonies without understanding their intrinsic meaning, and they have a firm confidence in their faith. — They are without the least connection with the rest of the world; they do not even know that Jews live in Europe likewise. — The day on which they received the sacred books is honoured by them as a day of festivity.

During my travels in Africa, I myself met with the above mentioned Polish Jew; he lives in Algiers, and his name is Simcha Rubinstein. From his own lips I received a confirmation of the statements I have given relative to the Jews of Bokhara — The accounts respecting this country are so doubtful, — it is so seldom visited, and so little known, that I considered myself very fortunate in having obtained this faithful report of the Jews there. The corroboration of Rubinstein, who had a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew and other languages, and who had travelled many years in these remote regions, was a valuable assistance to me. Like myself, he also had the misfortune to be robbed of all his memoranda at the plundering of a caravan in the desert of Sahara, on his return from Timbuctoo.

Salomon says: „Heaviness in the heart maketh it stoop; but a good word maketh it glad.“¹

My cares are not personal. — The great past and the immortal deeds of the people to whom I belong alone engage my attention. My thoughts are fixed upon the remnants of them scattered in the world, upon those, whom fate has hitherto hidden from our eyes. My aim is to seek out

¹ Proverbs c. XII. 25.

the great family of Israel, — the members of which often do not recognise each other; and who in many countries eat the bread of exile from Egypt and Babylon, wet with their tears and moistened with their blood. I will speak to them words of truth and words of consolation; and with the torch of our sacred history in my hand, will carry light among them. The Eternal, who sees all, and knows all, has likewise seen my deeds, — none of my wishes and desires are unknown to Him. He will guide and protect me, He will give me strength to fulfill the work which has been begun. He will inspire my fellow-believers to help me, so that I may again turn my steps to those sacred spots, the places of the glory of our forefathers. He will lead me from the West, where my brethren know all that is beautiful and sublime, to the East, where so many of our race languish in ignorance and misery. — I address myself to all scientific and learned men with this request, and conclude with the words of Salomon: „Hope deferred maketh the hearth sick.“¹ — „In all labour there is profit; but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury.“²

¹ Proverbs c. XIII. 12.

² Proverbs c. XIV. 23.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Jews in Persia.

*Return from Bombay to Mascat by sea. — Perilous voyage.
— Mascat.*

In March 1850 I embarked on board an Arabian ship. The wind was strong, but favourable. There were seventy passengers on board, and we had every prospect of having a good voyage. — We knew not, however, the incapacity of our captain. On the third night after our departure, our steersman had gone to sleep, whereby the ship got considerably out of its right course. This unfortunately was only remarked on the eighth day. Three days were spent in the most dreadful anxiety. I sent my servant and interpreter to the captain, in order to represent our situation to him. The captain received him with curses and threats, which only added to our alarm. At some distance from the ship we observed something which looked to me like a flight of birds, and we began to indulge the hope that we were no longer far from land; but when we came nearer, we found they were flying-fish, — a sure sign, that land was far off. We had placed all our hope on the steersman, who was an old and experienced sailor; and we entreated him to use all his powers to rescue us from the threatened danger. After that we all went together to the captain, and implored him to give up the command of the ship to the steersman, who knew these parts perfectly. He consented. Our water and provisions were handed out in considerably smaller rations.

This melancholy state of things lasted until the eighteenth day, when food began to fail completely. In this

distress we distilled sea-water, in order to quench our thirst.¹ On the nineteenth day, the captain himself went to the top mast, and with his telescope examined the horizon. After a survey of an hour and a half he came down, looking pale and disturbed. In the evening he began his survey anew; and he saw a grey stripe in the ocean. Was it land, or was it one of those wonderful delusive appearances, which are so dangerous to erring seamen? — Tired and fatigued, I went down to the cabin, leaving my servant on deck. Hardly had I gone down, when a huge wave threw him down. I called out to him: „Are you drunk?“ — He answered: „Try it yourself, and you will see.“ — Immediately I went again on deck, over which at that moment dashed an enormous foaming wave, which struck me down. I believed myself lost, and was not a little astonished when, a few minutes afterwards, I became again conscious. The sails were torn — the mast broken — and the deck flooded with water. The storm continued to rage with unabated fury; and the ship, like a lost creature, was at the mercy of every wave. We had given up all hope, and saw the grave open before us. At this moment all the passengers, without distinction of faith, fell upon their knees, and commended themselves to God, whose awful power with mighty breath moves earth and sea. — This event took place on the eve of Easter-tide.

Having finished my prayer, I felt more composed, and went down to throw myself upon my couch. The storm raged until midnight, when it gradually subsided. The next morning we all assembled on deck, full of joy at our deliverance from danger. But now hunger began to be felt in a still greater degree. — One of the passengers had acci-

¹ This is effected by means of sinking a vessel called *Tanasa*, made of a certain kind of red earth, the aperture of which is stopped. The vessel takes in a quantity of sea-water; of which, when the vessel is again drawn on board, the water oozes out, while the salt remains behind. In this manner a tolerably drinkable water can be obtained.

dentally ascertained that the captain possessed a small quantity of dates. We desired to have them, but were refused for good reasons: we were told that they were intended for the sailors, so that they might not lose their strength for want of food. We, however, were so nawed by hunger that we insisted on having our request complied with, and threatened the captain to complain against him to the European consul, if he would not give up the dates. We certainly allayed our hunger with them; but felt afterwards the most tormenting thirst. — Again the captain ascended the mast, and began his survey. „Land!“ he cried, and with joyful shouts was the cry repeated. We sailed towards the coast; with a favourable wind we steered round some ridges of rock, and on the twenty-second day of our voyage saw before us the gigantic mountain of Djebel Dahoudki, the same we had observed the previous evening, but which the captain had failed to perceive. With mixed feelings of joy and fear we saw some boats approaching us from the shore. A powerful voice called out to us: „Salem Aleikum!“ (Peace unto you), and with delight we all repeated the greeting. On the twenty-second day after our departure from Bombay we cast anchor, and were only six miles distant from Mascat, the goal of our journey.

We were saved, but fearfully worn out. I immediately sent my servant to take my passport to the English consul, and to buy some provisions for me. An hour later, a boat with the English flag sailed up to us, in which were the officials of the consul, who were appointed to fetch me. Astonished at such a reception, I accompanied them, and had the joy of finding in the consul a fellow-believer. His name is Hasi Ezekiel; he is from Bagdad, and has filled the office of consul for the last eleven years as successor to his father-in-law Reuben. This man is the only Jew in Mascat, with the exception of his black household, whom he has converted to Mosaism.

The town has a very beautiful synagogue, in which are some ancient Pentateuchs. In the court-yard of the syna-

gogue is a bath for women, which was formerly used for religious purification. Several centuries ago the Jews of Mascat were afflicted with the plague, which carried off great numbers; the remainder left the place. I likewise visited the old burial-place of the community, round which now rise the tents of the Arabs. In Mascat I met several fellow-worshippers from neighbouring cities. The inhabitants are fond of the Jews, whom they call Yoldé Sarah (children of Sarah).

Mascat formerly belonged to the Portuguese, and was besieged by them; later it was conquered by the Abyssinians. An Iman now rules there, supported by England. The town is the most important business place of Arabia, and the pearl-trade, in which the Bedouins are chiefly engaged, is very considerable. The town itself is large, but dirty; it lies at the foot of great mountains, and is surrounded by them. The population amounts to about 60,000 souls. The air is unhealthy, chiefly caused by the dead fishes, which are found in great masses in the streets. After heavy falls of rain, rapid streams form in the mountains, which carry with them into the sea, all kinds of rubbish.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Journey from Mascat to Abeshur.

Jewish tribes in the desert of Arabia. — Bender Abassi. — Linsa. — Abeshur.

After a rest of 21 days, I embarked for Abeshur; but on the third day of the journey we were obliged to sail

along the shore of Ormuzd. A violent gust of wind dashed our ship on some rocks, where it stranded. The water streamed into the ship, and a scene of dreadful terror and anxiety took place. Every one tried to save himself, and sprang into the only boat we possessed. The little vessel was thus over-loaded and sank. Many saved themselves by swimming to the shore, but others were drowned. The goods and food were left in the ship.

Deprived of all our property and food, we lay upon the shore. Before us on one side the Persian Gulf, on the other the wide extended desert. On the place where we struck formerly stood a town, of which now only the ruins remain. In the holes between the rocks, we found rain-water enough to quench our thirst; but we suffered much from hunger. While the damaged ship was being repaired, we wandered about in the neighbourhood, seeking for food; but found nothing but some herbs and mushrooms, on which we lived for three days. In the meantime our ship was once more set afloat, and under the guidance of Providence, in three days more, without further accident, we reached *Bender Abassi* where we remained several days, in order that our ship should be properly repaired.

A wide, fruitful tract of land extends from Bender to Persia. On the opposite side of the Persian Gulf in the interior of Arabia, the desert extends to Aden, Medina and Mecca. The travellers who have visited the city of the Prophet, report, that on the road they met with sixteen tribes of whom four bear the name of Ihud Cheibar (a name of terror to the Arabs), and belong to the Mosaic faith. I have heard this fact not only from Mahometan pilgrims, but also from my fellow-worshippers at Bagdad. These tribes are said to form among the Nomads a band of their own, and like the rest plunder the caravans.¹

¹ The celebrated traveller Dr. H. Petermann in Berlin related to me himself that in his travels he had likewise obtained information respecting these tribes, from a physician: — from which account it appears that they are really Jews, although they possess no Talmud:

Not far from Bender Abassi lies the island of Rein, which is noted for its pearl fishery. Somewhat further on is the town of Linsa. It is governed by an almost independent sheik, who has money coined, which has value among the Arabs, who live in his little territory. Ships stop near Linsa, for the purpose of taking in provisions; in other respects the town is unimportant.

Three days' journey from Linsa begins the Persian boundary, which is marked by Arab camps. At this place our ship stranded in a storm. The captain, who was afraid of being plundered, sought out the commander of the sentinels placed on the frontier, and offered him presents, whereby he obtained protection for passengers and luggage. Afterwards we purchased there eggs and vegetables.

When our ship was again in a condition to sail, we continued our journey; and in two days landed at Abeshur. Here live about 70 Jewish families, who are less oppressed than those living in the interior of Persia. They owe this to the English consul, by whom I also was most kindly received, in consequence of a letter of recommendation which I gave to him. He gave me an introduction to his vice-consul at Shiraz, made arrangements himself with the Caravan-Baschi respecting my journey, and responsible by exacting from him written documents to that effect for my safety.

Abeshur lies on a projecting point of land in the Persian Gulf, and is surrounded by a half decayed wall. The

— he at the same time expressed the wish that these tribes might be sought out. The dwelling-place of these tribes is twelve days journey from Dsheddah, on the road to Mecca. According to the statement of this physician, they had, in the place where he visited them, 40,000 tents. Near to them dwell the Jam, an Arab tribe. — Benjamin of Tudela p. 71, 72, speaks of these tribes, and reckons them as descended from the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. — *Ritter's Erdkunde* Vol. 13, p. 403—407 gives information from different sources about these tribes. We hope to visit them in our second journey, in order to be able at last to gain certain intelligence respecting them.

town carries on an extensive trade, and twice a year the steamers from Bombay anchor here, to ship cargoes for the interior of Persia.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Journey through the desert to Shiraz.

For this journey I wore European clothes, but my servant wore the dress of the inhabitants of Kelbella. My safety was in the hands of the political authorities, and with confidence in God I commenced my journey. Our road led us through regions infested by hordes of robbers; but Providence protected us, although our victory was often dearly bought.

During the journey I also was often exposed to personal danger, and owed my preservation to the Caravan-Baschi, who had pledged himself for my safety. — Every morning at daybreak I went forward before the caravan proceeded on its way, in order to pray. This was remarked, and one day, when I was on the point of putting on my Tephilim (phylacteries) in preparation for prayer, I heard with terror the words: „A Jew is among us!“ — I turned round; a Persian pointed his gun at me and fired, but the bullet whistled by me. The Caravan-Baschi, who with many others had run to the spot, snatched the weapon from the hands of the perpetrator, who cried out in a rage: „A Jew is daring to pollute our company!“ — „How do you know he is a Jew?“ asked the Baschi. „Because I have seen him pray and put on his sandals!“ The Baschi turned pale, but immediately answered: „Perhaps you are mistaken;

but be it as it may, Jew or Mussulman, I answer for his safety with my head, and must deliver him up unharmed at the house of the vice-consul of Shiraz." — Nobody ventured to dispute the authority of the commander, for they were all too much used to obey. This quieted the disturbance, and the affair was soon forgotten.

Two days later, we passed through several narrow roads overhung with large masses of rock. It was already night when two shots were heard, and we found ourselves attacked from behind and in front, and the outlets of the road were occupied by robbers. A fierce struggle followed, but, owing to our position, all could not take part in it, and the struggle continued until daybreak. We then saw there had been some mistake, for in the front of the caravan we found friends, while behind us the battle still continued. Supported by our new allies, we soon succeeded in putting our assailants to flight.

On the second day after this occurrence we came to a beautiful plain with dwellings and magnificent plantations, which refreshed us like an Oasis. Accompanied by my servant, I withdrew from the caravan, without remarking that we were followed by two Persians. The day passed; the caravan was no longer to be seen, and I went towards a village close by. Then, for the first time, I observed that we were followed by the two Persians, whose appearance denoted no good. I had stated that I could not speak Persian, while my servant was quite master of the language; so we heard how our two pursuers were loudly planning that, favoured by the coming night, they would kill us and take our property. In order to prevent this new danger, the idea struck me of appeasing these two men by a bottle of brandy, the favorite beverage of many Persians. I took a bottle from my packhorse, and my servant offered it to them, asking them in broken Persian: „Will you drink of this Rikiuh?“ One of the robbers replied in Persian: „Why not? we will drink, and get courage to carry out our plan.“ Upon this, they took the bottle, emptied it and for

a time left us in peace. Suddenly we heard the tinkling of the bells on the leading-horse of our caravan. It was now high time to escape. We cried for help as loudly as we could, and the two bandits fled away at full speed.

The morning after this adventure we arrived at Shiraz, when I immediately proceeded to the English vice-consul, a Persian by birth, who received me in a very friendly manner, in consequence of the letter of introduction I had brought from his superior at Abeshur.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Shiraz. — Deplorable condition of the Jews.

Only about twenty years since, nearly 3000 Jews¹ lived in this once beautiful and flourishing city. By persecutions, oppressions, and odium of all kinds more than 2500 of them were compelled to go over to the Mussulman sect of Ali. Although outwardly apostates, a great number of these families still preserve in their hearts the faith of their fathers, and even find means of having their children circumcised in secret. Nine synagogues in the town evidence the former greatness of the Jewish community; now unfortunately, they are almost all laid waste. The Jews of Shiraz speak the Hebrew language, almost like the Askenasim (german Jews).

On my arrival I found the town in a state of ferment and revolt in consequence of a change of government in Teheran. Fierce combats took place in the streets, and it was not until the evening that the tumult was calmed. The

¹ Benjamin of Tudela p. 82 speaks of 10,000 Jews.

vice-consul received me into his house, and gave me a safe escort to the Nassi, Mullah Israel. This Nassi, a venerable old man, received me with the greatest kindness, and according to Eastern custom, gave me a shelter, and I lodged with his son Isaac.

My presence had quickly become known among the brethren of the faith, and I was soon visited by the leading members. From morning until night I was in request, my advice and help asked in many matters, and my opinions regarded as oracles. One day my room became gradually filled by women all wearing white veils, who, one after another, introduced themselves to me. As the Jewish women are permitted only to wear black veils, in order to distinguish them from others, this visit disquieted me, for I imagined the house might be attacked by insurgents. I was, however, pacified when they told me that all these women belonged to the families who had been compelled to embrace the faith of Islam, but who in secret adhered to the faith of their fathers. My visitors lifted their veils, and kissed my forehead and hand. I addressed some words to them on their apostacy, whereupon the women wept bitterly. One of the men present came forward and said: „Our brethren know under what fearful circumstances we were obliged to apostatise: we did it to save ourselves from tyranny and death. We assure, however, that, notwithstanding our apparent apostacy, we still cling with all our hearts to the faith of our fathers, and this we testify by our presence here to day; for if it were known, we should all certainly be lost!“ — These words much affected me; I tried to console them and said: „Have patience, my brethren; and continue to put your confidence in God. Perhaps the monarchs of Europe, under whose protection your brethren live happily, may be able to alleviate your misfortunes, and may place noble rulers on the throne of Persia, who will loosen your bonds, and allow you freely and openly to avow your faith.“

Another day the leader of the rebels came to the Nassi,

in order to levy on him a new tax. When he perceived me there, he asked who I was, to which the Nassi replied: „He is a Chacham from Beth-el-Mikdass.“ Hardly had the Persian heard this, when he spoke to me in the following words: „I have been told that the Chachamim of that town are very learned, and understand in particular the art of making amulets; make one for me to protect me in war.“ — At first I wished to disclaim this honour, but my scruples vanished at the sight of his blood-stained yatagan (xymetar), and I promised to comply with his wish on the following day. I set to work, but as I would not profane our sacred customs by this superstition, I turned over irresolutely the leaves of my Bible, and at length came upon the history of Esther. I took the names of the ten sons of Haman, by means of letters joined them into sentences, and in the form of kabbalistic amulets wrote them on a square piece of parchment. This I gave to the Persian, — who expressed great joy on receiving it, — and I told him at the same time that the amulet would only be of use to him as long as he was bold and brave. Two days later this Persian took part in a combat of the insurgents against the troops, in which the latter were worsted: he now believed firmly in the power of my amulet, brought me presents, and said that I was a man of God, because my amulet had been so effective. This little affair obtained for me no little consideration.

A few days later, the report was spread that the rebels were going to attack the Jews, who came to me, imploring help and protection. I said I was a poor pilgrim, and therefore *could* not help them; but they answered: „You are a learned man, and God is with you; you *can* save us.“ Thus urged, I gave them the advice that they should all assemble in a large house, and arrange a festive entertainment, that at the same time they should all be well armed, should barricade all the entrances, and then, trusting in God's help, await the result. Happily the report was without evil consequences.

A few months before my arrival, the Nassi Mullah Eliahu had drawn upon himself the ill-will of the Imaum, and was thrown into prison. The Imaum demanded such a large ransom for his release, that the community was unable to pay it. It was then proposed to him that, in order to be free, he should embrace the Islam faith. The prisoner declared himself ready to do so, and for this purpose was conducted before the Cadi. As, however, many preparations are necessary before the ceremony takes place, the Nassi sought to gain time by having this deferred. The Imaum made inquiries as to the reason of this delay, on which the Nassi declared that he withdrew his word, as he could not make up his mind to abjure at his age a religion, which he had followed during the whole of his life. Without further parley, the Imaum ordered him to receive 500 filagos (blows) on the soles of his feet, and then to be thrown into a damp dungeon. Four days successively this was repeated, so that the unhappy Nassi received 2000 blows. Without movement, with his face to the ground and like a dead man, he lay in that dungeon. Bread and water was all his food, and he would certainly have fallen a victim to his tortures and sufferings, if Providence had not rescued him. A tumult breaking out on this occasion the rebels released all prisoners, among whom was the Nassi. He then repaired to Bagdad, where I made his acquaintance some time afterwards. His fortune the Imaum had appropriated to himself.

Another circumstance, which may give an idea of the desolate condition of the Jews, is the following. A rich Persian took a fancy to a Jewish girl, and sought her in the house of her parents. As, however, these visits became dangerous, he tried to induce the girl to adopt the Mussulman faith, so that she might become his wife. „My parents would die of grief," said the Jewess, „if I forsook my religion." — „You hear it," said the Persian to his companions, „she will embrace the Islam faith." — Notwithstanding all her protestations he hurried to the Achund (Priest and Judge), and corroborated by his companions,

stated the maiden wished to embrace Islamism. The Achund immediately caused the girl, who had meanwhile been concealed, to be sought for at her parents house; the messengers treated the parents most cruelly, and their daughter was dragged before the Achund. At the end of two days the prescribed purifications were finished, and the girl begged for permission to walk on the terrace in order to enjoy the evening air. This was allowed, and she threw herself down and fractured her skull. The Persians, who knew the cause of this suicide heaped the most dreadful insults on the dead body, hacked it to pieces, and left it in the streets. Only during the night did the Jews venture to collect the remains, and bury them.

One fine afternoon I was sitting on the terrace in company with several acquaintances who came to see me. I felt thirsty and asked one of them to hand me a glass of water. „Why, said he, don't you, who are no doubt well versed in kabbalistic lore, do it as a certain Chacham of that town used to do? Once upon a time, continued he, two Chachamim were sitting on a terrace and one of them wanted to drink. The decanter of water having stood upon an opposite terrace at a distance of the place they were sitting upon, one of the Chachamim made use of the Kabbalah through which he succeeded in making the decanter approach itself to him. Thereupon the other Chacham told him, he might have saved himself so much trouble, for he could write a few Kabbalistic signs on his hand and water would have sprung from it — and which he actually did. I replied, I was astonished to hear that there are to be found such great Chachamim, as these two men were, and why don't they employ their skill in supplying the caravanes in the wilderness Shiras with water! They related me an other similar story, namely: Two Chachamim wanted once to shew their force in the Kabbalah. One caused a small quantity of earth, taken from a vineyard, to be brought into his room. He took a few kernels of grapes and planted them in that earth, and all at once a large vine sprung from

it which brought forth many grapes. But all his exertions to produce wine from these grapes were to no avail. The other Chacham seeing the vain efforts of his colleague, went up to the young vine, observing with a smile that his friend was not yet far advanced in the science of the Kabbalah. He thereupon availed himself of all his kabbalistic knowledge and causing the grapes to grow ripe pressed them and produced wine from them with which he regaled his friend and the whole company present. I was asked, what was my opinion of this miracles? I gave answer that I did not in such wonders at all, since all such as study Kabbalah are strictly forbidden to make any practical use of it.

Mulah Isphat of that town has two wives but no children.

The town of Shiraz had formerly very beautiful plantations and buildings: mausoleums, colleges, bazaars, caravanserais, magnificent baths etc. It has been almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. The neighbourhood is very fruitful, and produces costly wine. Tobacco also, — a plant which is smoked like tobacco through water pipes (Nargile) prepared expressly for the purpose — of a superior quality, and better than in Ispahan, grows there.

CHAPTER XXX.

Ispahan.

Occurrences of the journey. — Arrival at Ispahan. — The Minister Ismael.

My stay in Shiraz continued twenty-one days; after which I continued my journey to Ispahan. The vice-consul

took care that I should join a caravan of more than 2000 men going to Ispahan, and it was thus that under the safest possible protection I began a journey of 22 days, attended with great dangers and toils, through a barren tract of country.¹ By his advice I represented myself as a physician, and assumed an European dress.

The third day after our departure we were attacked by one of the numerous bands of robbers, which we repulsed, however, without any serious loss to ourselves, and gained a booty of several horses; I soon found an opportunity of displaying my abilities in my new calling of physician: During the next few days, three of the most important merchants belonging to our caravan became ill. With trust in the help of God, and the medicine in my travelling medicine chest, I attended to the patients, and succeeded in restoring them to health. By this I gained for myself three friends, whose gratitude guarded and saved me in a time of great danger.

In order to shelter myself from the burning rays of the sun, I had brought with me from Bombay a parasol, which was of beautiful workmanship, and this parasol was the cause of my life being twice endangered. One day, being troubled by the glare of the sun, I made use of this shelter; — suddenly a shot was heard and a bullet touched my mantle. I did not know that in Persia it was forbidden for a stranger to carry a parasol: it was a Persian who had fired at me. By this affair the whole caravan was thrown into a state of confusion, and the Caravan-Baschi had much trouble to keep me from these new inconveniences.

Another Persian took a liking to my parasol and begged I would sell it to him; and when I refused to do this, he swore in his anger that he would not only take the parasol but my life also. He concerted a plan with his companions

¹ Benjamin of Tudela p. 82 gives the distance from Shiraz to Ispahan as 4 days' journey. I do not know which way he went, for when the caravans go quickly, they want at least 15 to 18 days.

to murder me during the night. Providence and my three grateful patients and friends, however, saved me; they had discovered the whole plot, and carefully guarded me. One evening one of them asked me to pitch my tent beside his, and, as I had a foreboding of the intentions of the Persians, I willingly complied with his request. In the middle of the night a man, armed with a dagger, crept up to me, but was suddenly seized by my friend. The man begged for mercy, and promised to abstain from any future attempt on me. He sought, however, several times the same night to come near me, but was prevented doing so by my three watchful friends.

I was thus richly rewarded for my medical assistance, and thought with gratitude of the vice-consul of Shiraz, to whose advice I owed the friendship of my brave protectors. From this same cause arose many other advantages, especially this, — that on the whole journey, the different tribes hastened to supply me with provisions. — The continued watchfulness of my friends effectually preserved me from any further persecutions.

For four days we passed through a region filled with the ruins of whole cities: melancholy proofs of the devastating scourges of God, — plague and persecution. We had reached within two days' journey the goal of our long pilgrimage, when we were attacked by a horde of robbers consisting of 2000 men. As we were in the reach of a caravanserai, we were able to save ourselves, and act on the defensive. For a day and a half we were engaged in the most obstinate struggle, and our distress had reached its highest point, when we tried to obtain help by means of messengers, whom we sent to Ispahan. They succeeded in getting away safely, and on the third day native troops came to our assistance and with their aid we routed the bandits, who left behind them several of their wounded. — Three hours' journey from Ispahan we were again attacked; as, however, the noise of the firing could be heard in the city,

help was at once sent to us, and thus we surmounted the last danger of our journey.

We entered Ispahan in the morning, and soon after my arrival I visited the English consul, who received me very kindly. I then sought out my brethren in the faith, who where all much surprised that I had so happily surmounted the dangers of a journey through such barren districts, — parts which even numerous and well armed caravans scarcely ventured to traverse — particularly during the political tumults, which had lately taken place in consequence of a change of government.

Ispahan is the greatest city in the kingdom of Persia. The perfectly beautiful situation, the rich and luxuriant vegetation, the abundance and beauty of which can scarcely be described, offer food enough for reflection and consideration to the traveller, and awakened in me the remembrance of the magnificent regions of the East. — About 400 Jewish families live in the city, they possess 3 synagogues and 8 Mullahs (Chacham).¹

I arrived in that town on Tishe Beab (the 9th day of the month Aw — day of fasting and lamentation). A few Jews came to meet me at the arrival of the caravan and took me to the synagogue where all were assembled to read the Kinoth (lamentations). Soon after the prayers were over, the Mulahs came to welcome me, and brought along with them refreshments for me. I told them, that I could not accept of their kind tractement the day being one of fasting and watching in prayers, whereupon they told me that I, being a traveller, am permitted to eat on a fastday.

During my stay in Ispahan, I had the good fortune to meet there the Minister Ismael, a native Jew named Jekutiell, whom a kind Providence had raised to this high position. I had the honour of being allowed several times to pay my respects to him, his brothers Joseph and Mordecai, and his father Aga Babi. This influential and noble man deserves

¹ Benjamin of Tudela p 82 speaks of 15,000 Jews.

that I should present the reader with a short biographical account of him, which I obtained from the statements of some members of his family, and for the truth of which I can safely vouch.

About thirty years ago a poor Jewish jeweller, named Aga Babi, lived in Ispahan. He had three sons, of whom one, Jekutiel, distinguished himself as a dancer, and the great people of the city were so pleased with him, that in the dancer they forgot the Jew. At a large fête, which was given in the city in honour of the Shah, Jekutiel was engaged as a dancer, and fired by the presence of the ruler to display the most extraordinary powers of his art, the young man had the boldness in one of his daring leaps to kiss the hand of the monarch, who, admiring his talents, kindly excused his temerity, and induced him to follow him to his court, although the father of Jekutiel endeavoured by prayers and remonstrances to dissuade him.

The youth grew up under the eyes of his patron the monarch, and proved, by his fidelity and zeal, that he was worthy of the favour which had been shewn him. But even at court, surrounded by flattery and temptation, he never forgot his parentage or his low birth, and long remained true to the faith of his fathers. The son of the Shah, his friend and companion, whose amusements he shared, compelled him one day at a feast to partake of forbidden meat: from this time the favorite offered little resistance to the wishes of the prince, and soon afterwards adopted the Islam faith.¹

In a short time there was an outbreak at Meshed, to subdue which the Shah went in person with his army. In his company was his young friend and servant Jekutiel, who, after going over to Islamism, had assumed the name of Ismael. The town of Meshed was besieged, but the rebels defended

¹ Being an ignorant young man he imagined that the fact of his having eaten forbidden meats altho' compulsory banished him from the pale of Judaism.

themselves obstinately, and in a sally put the army of the besiegers to flight. During this general flight the Shah was deserted by his troops, and left alone and without shelter: his faithful Ismael alone remained, and both owed their preservation to the speed of their horses.

When the Shah perceived his faithful servant following him, he called out to him: „Save yourself if you can, and leave me to my fate.“ — But Ismael answered: „I will not leave you, oh Master; I will save myself with you, or I will perish.“ — The fugitives gained a wood, in which they wandered for the space of six days. The Shah thought they would perish of hunger, but Ismael shared with him the remains of some biscuit and water. When this slender store was exhausted, the noble youth mounted his horse and rode away to seek food. After a long search, he at length fell in with a Persian from whom he obtained some bread, with which he rode back. But when he arrived at the spot where he had left the Shah, he was no longer there. In despair he prayed to God, and rushed through the wood in all directions, calling him by name. At last he found his master, but in a half famished state, and refreshed him with the bread. Finally on the seventh day, the two fugitives were perceived by some horsemen, who had been sent out to the rescue of the Shah.

In consequence of this fidelity and devotion, the Shah, as soon as he had come back to Teheran, raised his favorite Ismael to be the first minister of his kingdom, and this high post he filled with the greatest zeal up to the death of the Shah. Without forgetting, he remembered with love those belonging to him, and became an unwearied protector of his former brethren in the faith. When the Shah was near his end, he had his son called to him, and solemnly recommended to him the minister Ismael as his friend, his most faithful servant, and most honest adviser; and he begged the heir of his throne to respect the noble servant as such and allow him to keep his high office. After the death of the Shah, envy and jealousy endeavoured to make the mi-

nister an object of suspicion to the young ruler, and to bring him into disgrace. An especial event, however, kept him in his high position. During the change of succession, the town of Ispahan had revolted, and the young Shah determined to punish it by a demand of 100,000 tumauns. For the exaction of this sum he chose the minister Ismael, and promised that, if he fulfilled his duty, he would keep him in his place. In the city an Achund had arranged a new revolt against the emissaries of the Shah; but with a large army Ismael suppressed the rebellion, destroyed a portion of the city, chastised the rebels, and carried out successfully his difficult commission. But in these events he had to mourn the death of his father and one of his brothers. The instigator of the outbreak escaped punishment by flight.

These events took place towards the end of the year 1850, shortly after the time I had left Ispahan and during the time I was at Teheran.

Ismael still lives at the court of Teheran, but no longer holds his former high appointment. In the general esteem and respect which are paid him, he finds compensation for his fall, and still tries to alleviate the sufferings of his former brethren in the faith as far as he can. As already mentioned, I had the honour of becoming personally acquainted with the worthy man, and I am indebted to his kindness for introductions to some influential men at Teheran, particularly to the Mullahs Ababi and Jacob, proprietors of a considerable business in jewelry.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Meshed. — Kashan. — Yezd.

A desolate and barren track of land of eighteen days' journey lies between Ispahan and Meshed. Here are to be found the ancient ruins of a tomb, to which the Jews used formerly to make journeys, and which the inhabitants assert is the tomb of Abraham ben Ezra. It is known that this great and learned man travelled in the East; I believe, however, that this tradition about the tomb is false, although it may be the tomb of one of his relations who bore the same name.

A considerable number of fugitive Jews met me, and they related to me the cause of their flight as follows: Before the death of the last Shah, about 1840 or 1842, the Mussulmen in Meshed suddenly attacked the Jews who lived there, who numbered nearly 400 families,¹ and insisted that they should adopt the Islam faith. The Jews refused, upon which many of them were murdered by the Persians; some of them saved themselves by flight, and escaped safely to

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. 3, part 8, p. 103. The Jews of whom there are about 100 families in Meshed, are held in great contempt, says A. Conolly. They are not rich, but still wealthy, compared with their brethren in Ispahan and Teheran, who are only permitted to carry on the most disgusting traffic, like so many in Europe. In Meshed the Jews are not permitted to tread on holy places, nor to visit the Moslem baths; they must wear different caps from the true believers, and as a badge, must have a strip of cloth on their breast. They are not allowed to defend themselves by a single blow against a Mussulman, and are followed by the urchins in the street, who, before the eyes of their parents, pelt them with dirt and stones; for it is considered meritorious to frighten the soul of an infidel. In

Bagdad, while others were overtaken by their pursuers, and compelled to forsake their faith. Here as in all other places, notwithstanding their seeming apostacy, the enforced converts still remained in secret faithful to Mosaism. They agreed together to frequent the Mosques, but not to partake of forbidden meat. Every Friday the Shochet went from house to house to the new converts and performed his office. This complete separation gave rise to suspicions. The Achund asked them if they were true believers in Islam. The Jews answered: „With body and soul.“ „Then why do you not partake of meat?“ inquired the Achund. — „Because by abstinence we desire to atone for our former sin“, was the reply. — At first this answer satisfied them; but those who were suspected were watched, and one Friday the Shochet was surprised in the performance of his duties. The unhappy man was immediately hacked to pieces and thrown to the dogs; the other offenders murdered, the synagogues, which until then had been only locked, completely destroyed, and the Pentateuchs torn to fragments. It is true the Shah desired afterwards to know the cause of these acts of violence, but for the present the affair was unnoticed; as from the frequent disturbances in this country, the commands of the ruler are not always recognised. After the death of the Shah, and the removal of the Minister Ismael, these cruelties remained unpunished.

Six days' journey from Ispahan is Kashan, celebrated for its silk manufactures. I saw there magnificent Taleths (garments to be worn during divine service), and one of them I sent home. The Jewish community in Kashan

their synagogue a portion of the homily is sung in Persian, the Old Testament is read in Hebrew. During prayer, they cover their head with white mantles, and turn towards Jerusalem during the time that the priest holds on high the roll of the Pentateuch. In their library they showed 50 copies of their Holy Scriptures; written on rolls of parchment by devotees, to which the signatures of the writers were affixed: each of this writings was kept by itself.

numbers 180 families, who live in a state of dreadful oppression.

It was on a Friday that we entered the town, where we wished to rest on Saturday. The caravan remained in the caravanserai outside the gates. I asked after the Jewish quarter of the town, intending to proceed there; but I had barely shewn myself in the streets, when I was surrounded by a number of street boys and low rabble. My European dress excited displeasure, and I was pelted with stones amid abuse and cries of „Giaour“ (dog). The least resistance would have brought me into still greater danger; so great is the hatred of Persians towards strangers.¹

The Nassi Mordecai received me very kindly, and my arrival was hailed by the community as an especially happy circumstance.

The following day I put on my Jerusalem dress and went into the streets. A caravan-companion, who happened to meet me, recognised me, and called out loudly: „This Giaour is a Jew.“ He immediately told the Caravan-Baschi, as well as his fellow-travellers, of his discovery. They all exclaimed that I had contaminated them by my presence. On Saturday evening I entered the caravanserai quite innocently in my European dress. Scarcely had I entered, when a tumult took place before the closed door, which was broken open, and I heard the cry: „Death to the Jew.“

The Caravan-Baschi, who had shewn me much sympathy, threw hastily some Persian garments over me and hid me in his harem, the door of which he closed. He then approached the enraged crowd, and asked: „Whom do you want? there is no Jew here; we had a Hakim-Baschi among us, but he has remained behind in the town, I know not where.“ The infuriated rabble gave little heed to this

¹ Messechet Barachot chap. 9, v. 4, fol. 60, reminds one of the prayers which are spoken on entering and leaving a town. It appears as if formerly the same dangers threatened the Jews as at the present time.

explanation, but surrounded the caravanserai and sought me everywhere: the harem, however, as a sacred and inviolate apartment, remained undisturbed, and at last with cursing and swearing, the mob retired. When all was quiet, the Baschi conducted me to a trench near by, and advised me to wait in this place of concealment until the caravan should pass. With watchful ear and eye, fancying on hearing the slightest noise that my pursuers were coming, I waited. At last at midnight the caravan, which was going to Teheran, approached, and I was released from my suspense.

Five days' journey to the north-east of Kashan lies the town of Yezd, celebrated for the manufacture of wonderfully beautiful shawls. A Jewish community of 150 families is here, and they too languish under the yoke of the most ignominious oppression. I have not been able to visit this town myself, but from other fellow-believers, who have relations settled there, I have heard descriptions of their unhappy state.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Teheran.

In the capital of Persia live about 500 Jewish families; they possess eight synagogues and have several Mullahs. Their social condition is also considerably better than those of the Jews in the provinces. This is chiefly caused by their living under the immediate superintendence of the highest authorities in the land, and, at the seat of government. Perhaps another circumstance to which they are indebted better treatment is the circumstance that the father

of the reigning Shah has a Jewess among his wives. Our fellow-believers occupy themselves mostly with trade, especially with the sale of pearls and precious stones; several of them are jewellers, lapidaries, and doctors.

I stayed in that town about three months, in the course of that time we celebrated the New Year and the day of atonement. I noticed that on the day of atonement during the Mussaph prayers the synagogue became almost empty. Upon my asking, what may be the reason thereof, I was told that many went home to rest a few hours in order that they may gather new strength for prayers during the remainder of the day. There are in that place two Jewish Mullahs, both of them are called Nachamin. One of them though in his 91st year, still healthy, and does his duties well.

The father of the reigning Shah was in the habit of occasionally visiting in person the Jewish quarter of the town, all the inhabitants of which came out to meet him, and white lambs were slaughtered in his honour, and the flesh divided among the poor.

A circumstance occurred which led to my being summoned before the council of the Shah, in order to give my opinion on a rather difficult case; — it was as follows: In Shiraz lived two brothers, both Rabbis, Mullah Ababi and Mullah Isaac, of whom the former for some cause became an opostate. He was considered one of the most learned Rabbis in Persia, and obtained access to the court of the Shah, where he made use of every means and artifice to establish himself in the favour of the monarch. By application of passages in the Bible, the meaning of which did not accord with the notions of government, he oppressed his former fellow-believers, and then again offered them his services in order to get money from them. Thus he drew their attention to a passage in Deuteronomy, where it is thus written: „Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any-

thing that is lent upon usury, but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury."¹

In consequence of this, the Mullahs of Teheran, Mullah Rachmim, the Nassi Aga Ababi, and the first Jews of the town, were ordered before the highest authorities of the kingdom, and desired to explain this passage. They, however, said that they were not learned enough to be able to explain the text, adding, that in all Persia there was no Mullah who could answer this question; there was, however, a Chacham from Beth-el-Mikdass in Teheran, who would be able to explain it. By this, they meant me; and I, as well as several other Jews, received shortly after a message from the authorities, inviting me to appear before them. I immediately obeyed the summons, presenting on my entrance a certificate from the Russian Ambassador, with whom I had deposited my passport, and whose influence was very great, and I remarked that as an European, I could not subject myself to any foreign power without the consent of my Ambassador, but that I was ready to obey the order and considered it an honour to appear before that high assembly. When the passage alluded to was placed before me, and my interpretation of it desired, I declared openly that the exposition of the Mullah Ababi was false, adding, that in Europe, a mere child, who was at all conversant with the Bible would understand how to give a better explanation of the text. My interpretation of the passage was as follows: „Thou shalt take no usury from thy brother whoever he may be!“ for the Bible says: „Take thou no usury of him or interest; but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee“,² and further it says: „Unto a stranger thou mayest give interest, but thou shalt not lend upon usury.“ — The assembly received this explanation with satisfaction. I then remarked that in Europe it was the custom to draw up a protocol in writing respecting such

¹ Deuteronomy c. XXIII. 19. 20.

² Leviticus c. XXV. 36.

discussions; to which they replied that the whole affair was not worth the trouble. The whole discussion, which lasted about half an hour, was interpreted by the dragoman Mullah Jacob. When the meeting was broken up, I was asked if I knew the Baron von Rothschild; they had heard that there was a family in Europe of that name which was very rich and much esteemed by all European monarchs. If this family were really so powerful, why did they not come to the relief of their fellow-believers? — I answered that I only knew personally the Baron von Rothschild, who, in the year 1845, lived in Vienna. Besides, in Europe it was not known in what a wretched condition our brethren lived here: for there their lot was a much better one. — With this, the meeting broke up.

The palace of the Shah, the chief buildings, and the palaces of the Ambassadors of Russia and England are situated on a particular portion of the town, which is separated from the rest by a moat, over which is a drawbridge, and in this manner it is protected from all disturbance. The palace of the Shah is built in the Arabian style, and has large and strong gates, calling to one's mind of the entrance of our prisons. One of these gates is towards the town, and the other towards the palaces of the Ambassadors: both lead into the fore-court of the palace of the Shah. On entering two large ante-rooms are to be seen, one of which is the throne room. Twice a year the Shah comes here on the Bairam festival, in order to receive homage. Through a screen of glass the true believers see their King. The throne itself is hewn out of a block of marble, and is about 15 feet in length and 10 in breadth; and it is supported by twelve marble statues of females, grouped at the four corners. The throne which is approached by several steps, is ornamented with costly jewels, and wrought with great art. It is asserted that it has been used by all the Shahs of Persia. The crown room is closed the whole of the year, except on days of audience; but strangers are permitted to see it, and it was thus I obtained entrance there. In the

second room, the portraits of all the monarchs of Persia are painted on the walls. In another apartment are said to be the portraits of all the oldest kings of the country; but of this I can say nothing, as I did not see them.

The city of Teheran carries on a considerable trade. Like all other important towns, the streets are paved, but they look miserably desolate, as, according to Eastern custom, no house has windows towards the street. The shops, bazaars, and markets make a splendid impression. The population consists not only of Persians, but also of Jews and Christians.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Hamadan.

After a three months' stay in the chief town Teheran, where I had several unpleasant affairs with the above-mentioned apostate, — which, however, were not attended with any bad results for me, — I began my journey to Hamadan.

The road thither is through a wilderness, partly broken by high hills, and relieved by thick bushes and dwarf trees. The journey takes 12 days.

By the advice of the Russian consul, I assumed the Russian national costume; for Russia exercises in this country an almost magical power. Two Russians travelled by the same caravan, and I joined them. On the fourth day of our journey we became separated: suddenly a great disturbance took place, and we heard the sound of firing. All ran to

arms; but, unfortunately, we were already surrounded by a band of robbers, and taken prisoners. These Aramean bandits (descendants of the Chaldeans) requested ten of their people to conduct us into the mountains, while the remainder continued the combat against the caravan. They first led us to a plain, which was not far from the scene of action. The Persians who were made prisoners with us, took advantage of a favorable moment, when our guards were at a little distance from each other, and escaped, and joined the caravan. Eight of our guards pursued them, and the two Russians and I were left alone with two robbers. They had not even taken the time and trouble to disarm us. On an agreed signal, we suddenly started off, taking the opposite direction to the one taken by the other fugitives. Our two guards rushed after us, but we turned round, killed one, and made the other prisoner, and carried him with us to the caravan. There the combat had continued without any decision, and they were engaged in discussions, which finally resulted in an exchange of prisoners, and the payment of a very large ransom on our parts. After this was settled, at midnight, twelve hours from the commencement of the attack, we were able to continue our journey.

By this event, the two Russians and myself gained much in the opinion of our fellow-travellers; as our prisoner had much lessened the difficulty of coming to terms with the robbers. On the following day also we were several times attacked by straggling parties of robbers, but our danger was but of a trifling character. On the whole road there is no caravanserai established, and for shelter therefore we made use of some of the many caves which are to be found here.

In the train of the caravan we had a great number of mules, bearing in carefully-closed coffins the bodies of rich Persians, for the purpose (as has already been mentioned) of burial near the tomb of the founder of their sect in Meshed Ali. One evening we had taken shelter from the pelting rain in a cave, leaving the coffins at its entrance.

Suddenly a mass of rock and a quantity of rubbish became loose, and rolling down from the top of the cave, blocked up the entrance. We considered ourselves as irrecoverably lost, but after a long and anxious search we found another outlet; the coffins however were buried in the rubbish.

After two days' journey farther on we arrived at a stream, which forms the boundary between Persia and Media. As there was neither boat nor bridge, by which it could be crossed, we were obliged to make up our minds to wade through it. Thence to Hamadan, the journey continued without any occurrence worthy of note.

Hamadan, the former summer-residence of the Persian Shah, is a town of great importance to the kingdom on account of its trade. The Jewish community, which consists of about 500 families,¹ have three synagogues and three Mullahs. The Nassi of the community is Mullah Eliahu.

During my stay in that town I lived with Mullah Eliahu a very rich man. It was in winter time. They have no stoves in that place, but instead of them they make a kind of a hole in the floor, in the middle of the room, in which they put burning coals, and they generally sit around that hole to warm themselves. One evening I was invited by a physician (about 60 years old) named Aga Rephuah. He is rich, and his dwelling is splendidly decorated in an oriental style. At his house I found a choosen company among whom I enjoyed myself well. All the questions they put to me were concerning the position of our European cor-religionists. A woman about 50 years old waited on us at the table. I was entertained there till about mid-night. I was shortly afterwards invited again by the same man, but then to another house and in a different street. Here a woman about 40 years old served at the table. After a few days I was asked by the same man to another house,

¹ Benjamin of Tudela p. 61 speaks of 50,000 Jews, he likewise mentions the tombs of Esther and Mordecai, of which we make mention farther on.

where a young woman about 20 years old carrying a baby on her arms served us. When taking leave I thanked for his kindness towards me and as a stranger took the liberty of asking him, whether the young woman was his daughter. „No! he replied, all three women you saw are my wives. I keep a separate house for each of them in order to avoid jealousy and envy. He told me further, that his first wife got him 6 daughters, but no son, he therefore married the second who bore him 6 daughters too and no son, then he got married to the third whom God blessed with a son and now he felt happy, his tribe will not be extinct.

The second Mullah, of the name of Aaron, a man advanced in years, had once an old wall thrown down, and found two urns, one of which was filled with gold and the other with silver coins. On making investigation concerning it, I was told that this circumstance was not of rare occurrence. This reminded me of a passage in Medrash Rabba by Rabbi Simon, son of Jochaias (book 3, chap. 17) and in the Jalkot (book 3, chap. 5) to be compared with the words of Moses.¹ What is mentioned in this passages on the concealment of money, prevails in the East up to the present day.

Within the walls, near the extreme end of the town, stands a fine large building containing an apartment lined with polished Delft-ware. There are here two tombs, separated from each other only by a small passage; and above them are covered catafalques. The inscriptions are in Hebrew letters, but only two names can be read: on the one to the left the name of Esther, and on the other that of Mordecai. The building is the property of the Jewish community, and the keys are in their possession. At the beginning of each month, and at the Purim festival, pilgrimages are made to these tombs, and the book of Esther is read there. When, during the reading, certain passages occur, in which these two personages are particularly men-

¹ Leviticus c. XIV. 34. 40. 45.

tioned, all those present knock loudly on the catafalques, as if to say: „Here they rest, the remains of our fathers; here they rest, and we read to-day their glorious history.“¹

When any calamity threatens the town, or when the Jewish community fears any approaching danger, lambs are killed before the door of this house, and their flesh divided among the poor. One day I was told that such a sacrifice was about to be offered up, in order to turn aside some danger, which threatened one of the community. I endeavoured to make this superstitious misled people understand that, by such a proceeding, they only committed idolatry, and that our religion expressly forbade every sacrifice, with the exception of that offered in the Holy Temple at Jerusalem. I was fortunate enough to prevent the ceremony for this time, and to be the cause of the intended expenses being given to the poor.

The Persian Jews believe that Hamadan is the ancient town of Susa, as the tombs of Esther and Mordecai are found here. This I do not believe. The former kings of Persia had their summer-dwelling in Hamadan, and their winter-residence in Susa (in Persian Sustar), which town is 15 days' journey from the former, and the climate is

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde*, book 3, vol. 9, West-Asia, p. 124 and 125, says of these tombs: Near the Mosque is a space with tombs, among which is said to be that of Esther and Mordecai. It is built of brick, and has two chambers, of which the one serves as ante-room to the other, and appears modern in comparison to the rest of the building (Ritter further quotes the copies of the Hebrew inscriptions by Sir Gore Ouseley and R. Porter, which, however, contradict each other). In the first chamber only lie old funeral-furniture, — such as lamps, biers &c. Through an opening, only 1½ foot in height and breadth, one manages to creep into the second chamber, in which are two wooden stands shaped like sarcophagi. These are said to be the tombs of those celebrated persons.

I only found one apartment, in which, at a few steps from the entrance, is the tomb of Mordecai; and but a short space from this, rises from the ground an eminence of about one foot in height, and this is the tomb of Esther. The two tombs are not separated by a wall.

milder. The ruins of the buildings, which date from the reigns of the former kings, confirm this opinion.

Four days' journey from Hamadan lies Karmanshah, where reside about 40 Jewish families. The Mullah of this community, a very avaricious man, takes a most unbecoming advantage of the superstition of the Persians by making for them amulets and talismans. I represented this very plainly to him, but only seemed to displease him.

The town is fortified and very large, and carries on a considerable trade. Very costly carpets are made here. Large morasses and a long chain of mountains surround the town.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Persia, its culture, customs, and habits. Return to Bagdad.

Persia is one of the richest and most fertile countries on the Globe. It produces all that is necessary for the wants of the inhabitants, and the cheapness of all its productions, as well as of general living, is almost incredible. Industry flourishes, and the trade is extensive and renowned. Numerous caravans pass through the country, and magnificent tissues, carpets, shawls &c. are made here, the splendour and beauty of which are everywhere admired. I have seen costly pearls and precious stones, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, here in more abundance than in any other country in the world. They form the chief articles of trade, which is principally in the hands of the Jews.

The present inhabitants of the ancient cities of Cyrus are divided into three classes: Mussulmen, Armenians, and

Jews. The first belong, as already mentioned, to the sect of Ali. Even the other Mohametans must give place before the grandeur and power of this Prophet. I remarked that the followers of this sect, while saying their prayers on their knees, at the same time make use of a small stone, or a little piece of wood or splinter of bone with which they touch their fore-head. This custom appears to be in remembrance of former religious ceremonies, dating from idolatrous times.

The superstitions of the East likewise exercise great power over the inhabitants of Persia; for they exorcise evil spirits. Not only the Mussulmen, but the Jews likewise indulge in this superstitious practice. For instance, every sick person is in their eyes possessed by an evil spirit, and exorcisms are the proper remedies to be employed to ensure recovery. This is done in the following manner: Seven dishes, filled with different kinds of food, are put in the public bathing house, the doors of which are locked during the night. If, on the following morning, one of the seven dishes is found to have been touched, it is considered a proof that the evil spirits have accepted the food, left the sick person, and the patient will get better. Should the food, however, remain untouched, the sick person is considered incurable. — I thought it my duty to remonstrate with my brethren in the faith on this preposterous notion; they, however, said in reply: „Who other than evil spirits could touch the food in a house so securely closed?“ — I answered laughing that perhaps a mouse might have eaten it. Although my opinions had much weight with them, yet it was not possible for me to deprive them entirely of this superstition.

Notwithstanding all this bigotry, the Persians, in general, are very well informed. They are a handsome, powerful, brave people, and of great stature. Their pride is great, and their hostility without bounds against every stranger not belonging to their nation or faith. They spit in his

face, just as they have the dirty custom of spitting on the walls of their dwellings.

The dress of the men consists of a long upper-garment, without any collar, with long narrow sleeves; wide European trowsers, and a garment (kaftan), which they call *Antero*, which reaches down to the feet fitting close to the body, and open at the sides. The covering for the head is a high sheepskin cap. They wear their beards long, and dyed red; while their hair, which is shaved off on the top of the head, hangs down on each side of the temples.

The women wear a garment of silk or linen, reaching down to the waist, and open in front; immensely wide trowsers finish the dress. They decorate their necks, hands, and feet with jewels, and when they go out, they wear a white veil. The Jewish inhabitants of Persia dress in the same fashion with the exception that the women are obliged to wear black veils instead of white ones, when they appear in public. The persian women are very industrious and clever; each has her own work, and it is by the women that the wonderful shawls and embroideries of those parts are made.

The persians know nothing of tobacco, but both men and women smoke tobacco. They drink a great deal of tea, and in eating use their fingers. The interior of their houses is decorated with carpets and mirrors.

In every town is to be found a building surrounded by a wall in which is a tomb of some disciple or relation of Ali. These buildings form a place of refuge to every one who has to fear the arm of justice; for all who have succeeded in reaching one of them are safe under public protection.¹ The Jews and Christians enjoy the same privileges in the house of the Achund which is likewise an asylum for the guilty and persecuted. They are there received, and kept in safety. — The judges alone have the right and power to cause any one to be taken from one court of

¹ Number c. XXV. 11. 25.

justice to another. If the accused is declared not guilty, he is perfectly free, and enjoys the fullest protection; if, however he is condemned to imprisonment, he continues at the public place of refuge until the time of his punishment has expired, or until the death of the Achund, after which he is set at liberty.

Among the Persian Mussulmen exists the peculiar custom that, when a divorced couple wish to be reunited, the wife must first marry another man, and then be divorced from him, before she is allowed to be reunited with her first husband.

The apostacy of a Jew to the Mussulman religion is made the occasion of a public festival. After the convert has gone through the prescribed purifications, he is conducted, beautifully attired, into the mosque, where the Achund receives him, and bestows on him a new name. He is then placed on a horse richly caparisoned, and led in triumph with music round the town, on which occasion every one greets him, and presents him with gifts.

In the month of November or December in each year, the followers of the sect of Ali assemble daily during the whole month for two or three hours, in order to celebrate solemnly the anniversary of the death of the founder of their religion, whom they believe to have been killed by a Jew. For the last three days of this festival (Katel), songs of lamentation are chanted. If, during this time, a Jew should venture to show himself in the streets, he would be exposed to instant death.

The Christians in Persia live under a similar yoke as the Jews. The latter, however, enjoy greater freedom in trade. Neither Jews nor Christians are allowed to keep any slaves.

My fellow-worshippers in Persia have repeatedly entreated me to publish in Europe a description of their actual condition; I have promised to do this; and I therefore state it fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The condition of the Jews in Persia.

All Jews in Persia declare unanimously that they are descendants of the first exiles from the kingdom of Israel. Although a small number belonging to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are to be found among them, it is still without doubt that the greater number of them are descended from the ten tribes.¹ A remarkable proof of this is, — that they possess no Talmud. They date from the time of the first Temple, from the first centuries of the dispersion of the Jews. Although they are able to read and pray in Hebrew, and some Mullahs (from Hamadan and Yezd) possess copies of the Talmud, together with the Shulchan Aruch, and prayer-books, still they have only had these books within the last few years from Bagdad.

The women exist in a smaller number in Persia than in other countries of Asia; they are also more respected. There are a great many unmarried men; for when a young man wishes to marry, he must purchase his wife by offering to her father a certain sum, and these expenses often exceed the means of the young people. Very remarkable marriages often originate in consequence of this circumstance. If, for instance, two fathers, each having a son and daughter, decide on a union between the two families, they arrange

¹ *Ritter's Erdkunde* book 3, vol. 9, West-Asia, p. 42, agrees with this assertion.

a double marriage, in order to spare the purchase money, and avoid the expenses of the outfit of the daughter.

When a marriage is celebrated, the bridegroom, several days before the wedding, arranges a feast for his friends. On the marriage day, he goes with them to his bride's house, where the Mullah bestows his priestly blessing upon the young couple. Afterwards, the husband, and his relations and friends, return to his own dwelling; where again, accompanied by music, a feast is held according to the custom of the natives. About ten o'clock in the evening he goes with the wedding guests to the dwelling of the young wife; who is conducted by some of them from the parental roof, and, as soon as she appears on the threshold, she is surrounded by the relations of the husband. Accompanied by their relations and friends, and the whole train, the young man then repairs to his new home. — The men generally marry between the ages of 25 and 35, and the girls are generally from 20 to 22 years of age.

Once again I refer to the strange custom concerning the superstition mentioned in the former chapter, that every sick person is looked upon as possessed, and a cure is attempted in the manner already related. On my remonstrances with respect to this folly, I was told that this custom had been acted up to a long time.¹

Among the Persian Jews are some who are very rich, and this wealth is the source of so many dangers, that they are obliged to conceal their treasures. — I comprise their oppressions under the following heads:

1) Throughout Persia the Jews are obliged to live in a part of the town separated from the other inhabitants; for they are regarded as unclean creatures, who bring contamination with their intercourse and presence.

2) They have no right to carry on trade in stuff goods.

3) Even in the streets of their own quarter of the town they are not allowed to keep any open shop. — They may

¹ Deuteronomy c. XVIII. 11.

only sell spices and drugs, or carry on the trade of a jeweller, in which they have arrived at great perfection.

4) Under the pretext of their being unclean, they are treated with the greatest severity, and should they enter a street, inhabited by Mussulmen, they are pelted by the boys and mob with stones and dirt.

5) For the same reason they are forbidden to go out when it rains; for it is said the rain would wash dirt off them, which would dirty the feet of the Mussulmen.

6) If a Jew is recognised as such in the streets, he is subjected to the greatest insults. The passers-by spit in his face, and sometimes beat him so cruelly, that he falls to the ground, and is obliged to be carried home.

7) If a Persian kills a Jew, and the family of the deceased can bring forward two Mussulmen as witnesses to the fact, the murderer is punished by a fine of 12 tumauns (600 piastres); but if two such witnesses cannot be produced, the crime remains unpunished, even though it has been publicly committed, and is well known.

8) The flesh of the animals killed according to Hebrew custom, but as Trefe declared, must not be sold to any Mussulmen. The slaughterers are compelled to bury the meat, for even the Christians do not dare to buy it, fearing the mockery and insult of the Persians.

9) If a Jew enters a shop to buy anything, he is forbidden to inspect the goods, but must stand at a respectful distance and ask the price. Should his hand by accident touch the goods, he must take them at any price the seller chooses to ask for them.

10) Sometimes the Persians intrude into the dwellings of the Jews and take possession of whatever pleases them. Should the owner make the least opposition in defence of his property, he runs the danger of atoning for it with his life.

11) Upon the least dispute between a Jew and a Persian, the former is immediately dragged before the Achund, and, if the complainant can bring forward two witnesses,

the Jew is condemned to pay a heavy fine. Is he too poor to pay this penalty in money, he must pay it in his person. He is stripped to the waist, bound to a stake, and receives forty blows with a stick. Should the sufferer utter the least cry of pain during this proceeding, the blows already given are not reckoned, and the punishment is begun afresh.

12) In the same manner the Jewish children, when they get into a quarrel with those of the Mussulmen, are immediately led before the Achund, and punished with blows.

13) A Jew who travels in Persia is taxed at every inn and caravanserai he enters. If he hesitates to satisfy any demands that may happen to be made on him, they fall upon him, and ill use him until he yields to their terms.

14) If, as already mentioned, a Jew shows himself in the street during the three days of the Katel (feast of mourning for the death of the Persian founder of the religion of Ali) he is sure to be killed.

15) Daily and hourly new accusations are raised against the Jews, in order to obtain excuses for fresh extortions; the desire of gain is always the chief incitement to fanaticism in these parts.

These points give a clear insight into the wretched condition in which the Jews languish in a country where, not so very long since, a woman of their people was wife of the ruler, and one of her brethren was first minister.¹ The only compensation which they find for these persecutions, insults, and oppressions, is the great confidence which is reposed in them in commercial matters. Their honesty in trade is recognised by the Persians to such a degree that a Jew, who fails, finds refuge with the Achund against all prosecutions, and thus gains time to settle with his creditors.

The Jewish doctors are likewise much sought after, and exercise great influence over the first of the kingdom. This

¹ Even Benjamin of Tudela p. 76 speaks of the oppression of the Jews in Persia. — Rabbi Petachia p. 176 describes these persecutions more minutely.

they nobly turn to the advantage of their oppressed brethren. Thus are fulfilled the sublime words of the scriptures where it is written: „And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God.“¹

The Christians in Persia are nearly as much ill used as the Jews. Some time since they addressed themselves to the Pope with a prayer for help, but this appeal was of no use.

After my return from Africa, and after I had published in Paris in the year 1858 my travels under the title of „*Cinq ans de voyage en Orient de 1846—1851*“, I turned to the fulfilment of the request made to me, and addressed a petition to the Sultan, the Emperor of the French, and the Queen of England, imploring protection for my unhappy brethren in the faith in Persia.

The memorial to the Sultan is as follows: ,

To His Imperial Highness the Grand-Sultan of the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

Sire!

May Your Imperial Highness condescend to look with gracious compassion on this page, which an obscure traveller, but one of the most faithful subjects of Your Majesty, ventures to lay at the feet of the most just and magnanimous of Princes, whose reign will be blessed by so many nations.

The undersigned, who has traced these lines, has imposed on himself the task of exploring the countries confided to the paternal government of Your Imperial Highness, and, among the large population of the Great Ottoman Empire, he has endeavoured in person and on the spot to

¹ Leviticus c. XXVI. 44.

ascertain the social and religious condition of the descendants of a nation, which, since the remotest antiquity, has been known by its misfortunes, its resignation under every trial, and its unshaken faith. His numerous researches, and his earnest inquiries, relative to the fate of the ten tribes of Israel oblige him to make known the results of his labours, observations, and frequently perilous journies. For several years he lived the life of his fellow-believers, faithful subjects of Your Imperial Highness, and in honour and truth he must confess, that he often mingled his tears with theirs, for he had no power to bid them dry them up. The only consolation which he was able to offer to his brethren, oppressed beneath a burden of misfortune, was the promise to raise the voice of truth in their behalf, and try that this voice should reach Your Imperial Highness.

Providence has deigned to support my humble and unceasing efforts. Inspired by Providence, Your Imperial Highness condescended to promote the happiness of Your people by new legal regulations, which will powerfully tend to create for my brethren in the faith a more equal and endurable social condition. But what length of time may still pass before the benefits of the new law, which can but promote the prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, may pierce to those barren regions, far distant from the capital, and with which it has had until now such rare communications, it is difficult to say. — When will the day of justice and humanity dawn for my brethren, who, scattered in the mountainous and almost inaccessible regions of Kurdistan, live, as it were, a vegetable life on the extreme boundaries of the kingdom, chained to the earth in the most complete ignorance and surrounded by Kurdish tribes, whose turbulent will knows no bounds, and whose rudeness, cruelty, and rapacity, keep the Israelites in a state of degrading abasement. The paternal heart of Your Imperial Highness is filled with the gracious, compassionate endeavour to promote the happiness of Your faithful subjects. We therefore place our hope on the firm and all powerful will of Your Imperial

Highness, and on the supreme justice of the Eternal, Who has protected Your Majesty in all Your undertakings, and Who makes all those prosper who walk in the path of righteousness for the good of humanity.

After having traced a faithful picture of the condition of his brethren in the faith before the spread of the *Hati-Houmajum*, after having visited the kingdom of Persia, where the unheard of humiliation and oppression of the Israelites for centuries remind one of the ancient Egyptian bondage and Babylonian persecution, the undersigned author has compiled an account thereof in the work which he has the honour of laying at the feet of the most human and glorious of Sultans.

Some shades in this faithful picture are gloomy; they deserve to be known and esteemed according to their real value. (*Kurdistan*, p. 61, 64—66; *Persia*, p. 160, 226.)

The undersigned author speaks only in his own name; he fulfils a heartfelt duty and a sacred promise in raising his voice in behalf of so many human beings, whose eyes are unceasingly turned towards Your Imperial Highness, towards the greatest of Sultans, who, admired by the world, represents upon Earth that Providence, which inspires and guides him.

If the humble pilgrim, who soon again will resume his wanderings and continue his researches, should have the happiness of attracting the gracious notice of Your Majesty on the precarious condition of his brethren in *Kurdistan*, his highest wishes will be realised. His words are too weak for the proper expression of all his feelings; he is only able to lift up his prayers to the Most High, Who sees all, and Whom he supplicates to grant to Your Imperial Highness continual happiness.

Paris, June 12th 1856.

J. J. Benjamin II.

The petitions to the Emperor of the French and to the Queen of England are the same as the above with the ex-

ception of necessary alterations. The one to the Emperor of the French bears the same date as that of the Sultan; that to the Queen of England was dated and presented on the 22nd February 1857.

The petition to the Sultan I sent through Mr. Loeb Kaufmann, leather merchant at Galata in Constantinople; the one to the Emperor of the French I presented myself at the Tuileries, and the one to the Queen of England I delivered at the office of the English Embassy at Paris.

The original of the above petition written in French is as follows:

A Son Hautesse Impériale le Grand Sultan de la
Sublime Porte Ottomane.

Sire!

Que Votre Hautesse daigne jeter un regard d'auguste compassion sur le pli qu'un voyageur obscur, mais un des plus fidèles sujets de Votre Majesté, ose déposer aux pieds du plus magnanime, du plus équitable des Princes, dont le règne sera béni par tant de nations.

Celui qui ose tracer ces mots s'est imposé la mission d'explorer les contrées que l'Eternel a confié au gouvernement paternel de Votre Hautesse Impériale, et ce fut au milieu des populations nombreuses de votre empire Ottoman qu'il s'efforçait de constater personnellement et sur les lieux mêmes l'état social et religieux des derniers débris d'un peuple connu depuis la plus haute antiquité par ses désastres, comme par sa résignation à toute épreuve et par sa foi inébranlable; et ses recherches multipliées et ses investigations sérieuses sur le sort des dix tribus d'Israël lui font un devoir de faire connaître le résultat de ses labeurs, de ses veilles et de ses excursions souvent périlleuses. Pendant plusieurs années il a vécu de la vie de ses coreligionnaires sujets fidèles de Votre Hautesse Impériale, et pour rendre hommage à la vérité, il a souvent mêlé ses larmes avec les leurs, car il n'avait pas la puissance de les sécher. L'unique consolation qu'il a pu offrir à ses confrères courbés sous le poids du malheur, ce fut ma promesse d'élever la voix de la vérité et de la faire parvenir à Votre Majesté Impériale.

La Providence elle-même a daigné seconder mes humbles et mes constants efforts. Inspiré par elle Votre Hautesse Impériale daigna assurer le bonheur de ses peuples par des nouvelles prescriptions légales qui contribueront puissamment à créer pour mes coreligionnaires un état social normal, plus supportable. Mais combien de temps s'écoulera encore avant que les bienfaits de la nouvelle loi, qui ne peuvent que faire prospérer l'empire Ottoman, pénétreront dans quelques contrées incultes et

éloignées de la métropole, avec quelle elles n'ont pu avoir jusqu'à présent que de communications assez rares. Quand luira le jour de justice et d'humanité pour mes confrères dispersés dans les contrées montagneuses et inaccessibles pour ainsi dire du Kourdistan, où sur les confins extrêmes de l'Empire ils végètent dispersés, attachés au sol, dans l'ignorance la plus complète de leur existence, entourés par des tribus Kourdes, dont l'indépendance turbulente ne connaît pas souvent de frein, et dont la rudesse, l'âpreté et l'esprit de rapines retiennent les Israélites dans un état dégradant d'abaissement. Le coeur paternel de Votre Majesté Impériale fut touché d'une auguste compassion pour faire le bonheur de ses fidèles sujets; nous espérons dans la ferme et tout puissante volonté de Votre Hautesse Impériale ainsi que dans la suprême justice de l'Éternel, qui a protégé Votre Majesté dans toutes Ses entreprises et qui fait prospérer tous ceux qui marchent dans la voie du bien pour l'humanité.

Après avoir tracé un tableau fidèle de l'état de ses coreligionnaires avant la promulgation du *Hati-Houmajoum*, après avoir visité l'empire Perse, où l'abaissement et l'oppression des Israélites sont inouïs et séculaires, où ils rappellent l'antique servitude de l'Égypte et les persécutions de Babylon, l'auteur soussigné en a fait un récit contenu dans l'ouvrage qu'il a l'insigne honneur de déposer aux pieds du plus humain et du plus glorieux des Sultans.

Quelques traits dans ce tableau véridique sont sombres; ils méritent d'être connus et appréciés à leur juste valeur (Kourdistan, p. 61, 64—66, la Perse, p. 160 et 226).

L'auteur soussigné ne parle qu'en son nom. Il accomplit un devoir de coeur et il remplit une sainte promesse en élevant sa voix suppliante en faveur de tant d'hommes qui tournent sans cesse leurs regards vers la demeure auguste de Votre Hautesse Impériale; vers le plus grand des Sultans admiré par l'Univers et qui remplace sur cette terre la Providence qui l'inspire et qui le guide.

Si l'humble pèlerin, qui reprendra incessamment son bâton de voyageur pour continuer ses explorations, avait l'insigne bonheur d'attirer le regard auguste de Votre Majesté sur le sort précaire de ses confrères du Kourdistan, il serait au comble de ses vœux. Ses paroles sont trop faibles pour exprimer convenablement tout ce qu'il en ressentirait; il ne peut qu'élever ses prières vers l'Unique Maître, quitte tout, et qui daignera accorder à Votre Hautesse Impériale un bonheur constant.

Paris, le 12 Juin 1856.

J. J. Benjamin II.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Concluding reflections.

In my childhood I had often heard of the ten tribes of Israel, who were said to have been banished to a dark, mountainous country, which was never comforted by the rays of the sun, or trodden by the foot of a stranger. It was said they had their own government, and that under their own kings they rigidly adhered in these distant and unknown regions, to the worship of Israel in the Holy land. They were reputed to lead a strange life, whilst we, the descendants of the two banished tribes of Judah and Benjamin, were obliged to languish in exile under the yoke of fanaticism.

As I grew up, I devoted myself to the study of the Bible, and I learnt from Holy Writ that the other tribes of Israel had always been more corrupt than the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; and I said to myself: „God is just and merciful, why does He permit those to be happy who least deserve it?“ — From this moment I began to doubt the traditions of my people, especially as I could nowhere find in our holy books a satisfactory answer to this question, or obtain from them any explanation. The only alternative therefore, was to travel and make my own observations; and this idea occupied me continually.

When, in after years, this idea was acted on, I found the sought-for explanation, and was led to the following conclusions:

The fate which has befallen us, the children of Judah and Benjamin, is similar to that of the other tribes of Israel.

Just as we have been driven out of one land, and have had to find a new refuge in another, so have the other ten tribes been compelled to wander from one country to another, to seek new places of shelter from their persecutions and sufferings. As it has been with ourselves, here oppression and insult, there milder treatment and greater freedom, so has it been with them too. They have their Canarinz, just as we have our Shobatnik. In a word, we have all had to suffer the same hardships, and all had to bear the same misfortunes. The one great difference between us and the ten tribes is, that, at the present time, when the day of enlightenment begins to dawn over Europe, and fanaticism and bigotry is compelled to give place to justice and tolerance, we are each day treated more and more according to the sacred principles of humanity, and nations and legislators acknowledge that we have equal rights with those of the followers of other religions; whilst the children of the ten tribes of Israel, scattered among the barbarous nations of the East, continue to live in ignorance century after century, and up to the present day groan unnoticed and debased as Parias under the yoke of their oppressors.

All that tradition has related regarding their governments and kings is reduced to the facts we have related in their proper places. These wandering tribes dwelling in the deserts of Arabia have their own sheiks and the ignorant have considered these as mighty kings and rulers in our sense of the word. Just in the same manner, the tribes dwelling in the mountains of Afghanistan have their own rulers, and sometimes carry on bloody and successful war with the neighbouring tribes. All this has given rise to the report, so long current among us, relative to the might and greatness of the banished children of Israel.

I know not whence they could obtain their knowledge of kabbala, and their belief in hidden and supernatural powers. We know that at the time of the first Temple there was neither kabbala nor Shemoth Hokkedoshim (names of angels and holy spirits), if it be not the unspeakable name of Je-

hovah (Shem); because Shemoth we take to be the swords with which our fathers fought against the enemy under Saul and David, and for all sacred forms of prayer there was only Criath-Shema. The kabbalistic treatises, on the contrary, date from the time of the second Temple, and their form is in part the work of the latter great assemblies. How and whence then were the ten tribes able to obtain such great knowledge? This is all the more inexplicable, since I myself found them so ignorant that they were not even able to read. True it is, however, that they were banished to these barren mountains, to these almost inaccessible regions. The distance is great and the difficulties extreme to find them out; but they are still within the bounds of possibility. The river Sambathion — of which both the Jews in Asia and Africa speak — is said to drag in its course stones and pieces of rock, and to emit lava like a volcano, in order to prevent the approach and entrance of strangers to those parts; this I have not seen, but I have discovered the traces of the ten tribes of Israel.

At the present day, thanks to brave seamen and their voyages of discovery, we have gained accurate and certain knowledge of the remotest parts of the world. By the progress of education, geographical knowledge is universally extended, and by new discoveries the most distant parts are, in a manner brought near to us, so that the Antipodes are able to greet each other.

There must be many countries still unknown, even Alonzo da Ercilla says in his poems (vol. II, canto 27): The earth is covered with zones which are unknown to man; the field of discovery which is before us, is inexhaustible; and the sphere of our knowledge extends farther and farther towards the discovery of new truths.

Before leaving the East, the cradle of mankind, the land of mystery, and before taking leave of my brethren in the faith scattered there, who have been groaning for centuries under the yoke of barbarous and despotic nations, I will add here a few general remarks respecting travelling in these parts.

An European traveller, accustomed to cultivated countries, to intercourse with civilised people and to the conveniences of life, will, on entering the East, feel as if he had been transplanted into quite another world, into a world which it exceeds my power to describe. At every step he is surrounded by dangers, hardships, and privations of every kind, which increase the farther he goes. But a Jewish traveller finds himself placed in very different circumstances. The kindness, the confidence, the love and attention with which he is everywhere received in these countries by his brethren in the faith, make him forget the many sufferings and hardships of his journey. All kinds of privileges are permitted him, and the respect which is shewn him amounts almost to general veneration.

Above all, it was the pious faith of my brethren, their careful observance of our forms of worship, even to the most minute particulars, and their veneration for them, which made the deepest impression on me. Their piety is indeed well fitted to edify an European Jew; the remembrance of it forms an encouragement for the future, and it was indeed hard for me to bid farewell to these faithful brethren. Two points deserve especial mention; they are these: the learning and the brotherly love, the mode of live and traditional hospitality of my brethren in the East.

If the scholars of the East distinguish themselves in general by a deeper and more thorough knowledge; it is caused chiefly by their dwelling at the fountain head of all human wisdom: in their researches they have ever the sacred springs before their eyes, and thereby become animated by an unshaken faith; so that in this latter case even those, who are less wellread, may serve as examples to others.

The learned men, and especially those who come from the Holy Land or from Europe, are treated with the greatest veneration, with even more than is shewn to their own scholars. In the flowery language of the East, they say that they are crowns, which have come to decorate their heads.

He, who is not acquainted with Oriental customs, can hardly form an idea of the consideration with which a traveller is there received and treated. As soon as he has been introduced to the Nassi, all hasten to show him every possible honour which his rank may demand. All his wants are supplied; lodging, food, raiment, in short all that he may need is given to him, without the smallest compensation being required in return. Feasts and entertainments are arranged in his honour, as long as he remains in any place. And not only during his stay among them is this attention paid to him, but on leaving, it is extended to him in a still greater degree. As soon as the guest prepares for departure, the master of the house considers it as his first duty to furnish him with everything necessary for the journey. The days are counted as to how long he will be on the way until he arrives at another place, and his provisions are arranged accordingly, so that he may want nothing. Care is taken that he may be able to join a caravan, the expenses are paid, and not one of his brethren in the faith would fail to present him with some useful gift, the nature of which is always in accordance with his rank.

But it is not only to their own people that the Jews of the East grant such a generous reception. Every traveller, every tourist, of whatever religion he may be, everywhere receives from them the same assistance and protection, every possible information he may require as to the manner and difficulties of his journey, the providing of guides or any other help. This generous hospitality is extended to every one without exception, notwithstanding the many travellers who pass through the East; it is considered as a sacred duty, and carried out in a truly patriarchal manner.

If a caravan is attacked, and a traveller falls into cap-

tivity, he may, on this misfortune being known, surely reckon that they will not delay to his liberation: the ransom is collected for him, and this often amounts to a considerable sum.

From this one may judge how easy and convenient travelling through the East may be made, easier than in other countries, notwithstanding the difficulties of the journey, and the many dangers to which travellers are exposed. As the East is the fountain head of sacred knowledge, how earnestly do I advise my learned and enterprising brethren to draw from this holy source. For the light of knowledge which they would there diffuse and spread, they would find a reception worthy of them, and a comfortable life.

But travelling in the East is made much easier for the Jews than for others, by one great advantage, which they alone have. This is a knowledge of the Hebrew language. It is a powerful bond, the sole mysterious means which enables them to enter everywhere, and to overcome every difficulty. Among these tribes, where so many different languages are written and spoken, the Jewish traveller is sure of finding in every place at least some persons to whom he can make himself understood, and on whose word he can place the most implicit reliance.

It can be unhesitatingly asserted, that the characteristic habits and customs followed by the Jews of the East in the present day are those mentioned in the Bible as being peculiar to the ten tribes; whilst the habits and customs of the European Jews are like those of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. I refer, in conclusion, to two passages in the Bible, which seem to bear upon this; the first of which proves the friendliness of the ten tribes in contrast to the tribe of Benjamin.¹ The second passage reminds one of the generosity of the ten tribes towards their brethren,² who are inimical to them.

¹ Judges c. XIX. 14—22.

² II. Chronicles c. XXVIII 8—16.

Both these quotations show forth in glowing colours the national virtues of the *Eastern Jews*, and these virtues remain unchanged even to the present day.

Finally I add a few more customs practised by our brethren in the East:

1) After the performance of divine service in the synagogue, two persons stand at the entrance holding roses or some sweet smelling fruit in their hands, and these they offer to each passer-by, who, before touching them, utters the necessary blessing.

2) When one Israelite visits another, at the entrance of the house, before leaving, he is sprinkled with rose water, and likewise receives enough of the same to wash his face, beard, and hands.

3) The morning greeting is the same as with us; after mid-day one is greeted with the words: „Peace be with you!“ To several persons together, one says: „God be with you!“ to which they answer: „God bless you!“

4) An Israelite, who travels with a caravan, does not put on his Taleth, or his phylacteries (garments for prayer), but every morning and evening he reads Criath-Shema (a portion of the Pentateuch which treats of the unity of the Godhead).

5) Those Jews living in the mountains of Kurdistan do not wear Zizith (*fringes*) the whole day as we do, but only in the synagogue.

6) Divorces are conducted as with us, but with respect to betrothals, this difference exists, that every father may receive for his daughter up to her twelfth year the coin of betrothal. This circumstance often causes much that is disagreeable; for later should the husband not find grace in the eyes of young wife, she can refuse to remain with him, and is allowed by law to leave him without a letter of divorce.

7) Sometimes marriages are celebrated by proxy; by sending to the bride by a messenger the coin of betrothal;

but at the marriage it must be given again by the hand of the bridegroom.

8) If a man dies without leaving children, the brother of the deceased marries the widow.

9) If any one wishes to have two wives, he must give satisfactory reasons for it; for instance, that by the first wife he has no children, or only girls. Those, who are not Jews, can marry two wives without giving any such reason.

10) Many, who marry a second wife, pledge themselves only to give her food, but no clothing, these she must get herself.

11) If a man stops in some place for any length of time, he engages for himself a wife during the period of his stay; but does not take her away with him. (If this custom exist among Jews they do not understand the meaning of a moral life.)

12) Little chickens are eaten which are not yet fledged. The inhabitants of those parts know much better than we do what birds and fishes it is allowed to eat.

13) After midnight, a singer comes into the courtyard of the Nassi on the Sabbath and festival nights, and sings until break of day. This is also the case when a stranger, whom they wish to honour, is staying among them.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Return to Constantinople.

I had seen enough of the East to get a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, and above all else to obtain an insight into the condition of the Jews dwelling there, and

I was in a hurry now to quit this land of prejudice and oppression.

Ten days' journey led me through a desert country and over rocky hills. Solitary guard houses are placed along the road, in order to protect the traffic and the caravans passing through, as well as to guard the frontiers of the country from the frequent invasions of the nomadic hordes from Babylon. These public guards are, however, more to be feared than the robbers; for they themselves attack the caravans.

For instance, the village of Solata on the extreme boundary of the country is a regular nest of bandits. Surrounded by all these dangers I was indebted to a former fellow-believer, the chief military doctor of the province, J. Beer, for friendly advice and much kindness. At his recommendation I assumed the garb of a priest. He then introduced me to the commander in chief of the guards, who, at my request, gave other letters of introduction to the several under-officers on the route I should travel. By these means, my journey was unattended by danger, as I was brought under safe protection to the frontier. Without any further disasters I reached Bagdad. There I had the misfortune to break my leg by a fall from a horse, and was obliged to remain twenty-one days, until I recovered.

On Wednesday, the 12th of Jar (14th of April) 1851 I left Bagdad in order to return to Constantinople. I had joined a caravan which took the road through the desert, — a journey which is calculated to last about fifty days: I again represented for a physician. The caravan numbered 200 well armed men, and on leaving, we were joined by another company of 250, and later by another of 100 persons; so that we were now about 600 strong.

After being fatigued by continual attacks from the many hordes of robbers through whose territories we passed, on the 27th of Jar (29th of April) we arrived at Kirkuk, where we joined company with an other caravan of 600 persons, and now continued our journey 1200 strong. Up to the

8th Sivan (June) we had to endure slight skirmishes almost daily, but without any important loss; and on this day we joined a third caravan of 800 persons, and were now superior in numbers to any band of robbers we might meet, and were thus able to carry on our journey with a feeling of greater security. Notwithstanding our great numbers, we were, however, attacked the very next day, and were at first compelled to retreat with a loss of ten dead and fifteen wounded; but on the following day we overcame the bandits, pursued them, and took from them 35 camels and 200 sheep.

On the 9th of Sivan (19th of June), three days' journey from Karput, we found a very large serpent called by the Arabs Al-Hasse-Kalil, lying in the middle of the road. We killed it, and I should have much liked to take the skin of the gigantic reptile with me, if my fellow-travellers had not opposed it. On the same day we also met a lion, which we frightened away.

From Karput, privations and attacks began to trouble us in even a greater degree. Thus on the 9th of Tamus (9th of July) we were again attacked, and the combat lasted three days and three nights. From the 14th to the 20th Tamus we continued our journey unmolested. On the latter day we were, however, suddenly attacked by a double force; a fierce and bloody struggle took place, in the course of which the caravan was blown up and plundered. When night approached, I took shelter to save myself in a palm tree, and the next day I joined some of my companions. I had the good fortune to find again one of my camels, so that I was not quite deprived of all I had, and with it, I was lucky enough to save several objects which had been confided to my care. Three days after this circumstance we arrived at Sivas, whence I proceeded by another caravan to the harbour-town of Samsun on the Black Sea. Thence I set sail for Constantinople, where I arrived on the 10th of Av (8th of August), after a voyage of 36 hours.

End of the Oriental journey.

Departure for Africa.

Urged by a desire for rest after the fatigues and hardships of such long and difficult journies, I determined to remain for a time at Rumelia, which plan, however, I was unable to carry out.

After having gathered together the remains of my property, I travelled through Servia and Hungary and came to Vienna, passed through Austria, a great part of Italy, and arrived at Rome. Thence I proceeded to Livorno, embarked for Marseille, went on to Cartesan in Spain, and thence to Oran in Algeria. From Oran I travelled by sea over the whole north coast of Africa as far as Tripolis, and returned by land.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

JOURNIES IN AFRICA.

Habits, customs and condition of the Jews.

I. Egypt.

I commence the account of my African travels with Alexandria in Egypt, as I have already mentioned this place in my first journey.

Although there are many and great wonders in Egypt, I omit alluding to them here, as the land of pyramids has often been described by learned travellers, and is sufficiently well known in scientific and geographical points of view; here I speak only of my brethren in the faith.

Two Jewish communities exist in Alexandria, of which one is formed by natives, the other by Italians. The African community consists of about 500 families, the Italian of about 150 families.¹ Both, however, are superintended by the same Chacham. His name is Rabbi Salomo Chasan, a native of Zephat, a rich and learned man, who stands in high repute not only with our people, but likewise with the Viceroy and the Consuls of the European powers. Each community has its own synagogue; that of the African is a large ancient stone building, and near it stand several other buildings, in which Jewish travellers are entertained

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 107, speaks of 3000 Jews in Alexandria.

and lodged. The Italian Synagogue is in another street; it is a plain house, one story high. The African part of the population is now building a new Synagogue near the town, a very large and magnificent edifice, and they assert that this identical spot was likewise inhabited by Jews centuries ago. The Synagogue is placed in a wonderfully beautiful garden, — the most beautiful perhaps in Alexandria or even in the whole of Egypt, — planted with palms, dates, pomegranates, ethrog (the fruit of Hadar), and many of the most rare and beautiful flowers.

Of the condition and occupations of the Jews in Egypt I will speak later, and will now only mention a strange custom, which appeared to me very remarkable. — In Alexandria, in the house of an African Jew of some importance, whom I once visited on the Sabbath, I found in a room a large stuffed divan, over which one single large coverlet was spread. Under this one coverlet sleep in peaceful harmony the several married members of the family with their wives, each pair occupying a different corner of the divan, — the father and mother, the grown up son with his wife, the daughter and her husband etc. — On my smiling and inquiring if such a strange and objectionable custom was general, I received an answer in the affirmative. — During my stay in Alexandria, I lodged with a banker, Chaim Musero, who lived quite in the European style, and whose house was also arranged in the European fashion.

The town itself, its flourishing trade, its beautiful European style of building, its broad streets and markets, as well as the fine plantations surrounding it, are all so generally known that a description of them by me is unnecessary.

From Alexandria I proceeded by an Arabian ship to the village of Mackmadia on the Nile, situated at a day's journey from Alexandria, and connected with it by a canal. Near Mackmadia the canal is closed by two large gates; all ships coming from Alexandria are unladen before these gates, and their cargoes placed in other barks which take

them on farther. The village of Mackmadia is a dirty spot, inhabited by about 400 Arabs, — all, men and women, most base and depraved. They formerly lived in Alexandria, but when Ibrahim Pacha rebuilt the town in the European style, he turned them out of the old streets, and they then founded in Mackmadia a colony of their own.

From here I again proceeded by an Arabian ship to Cairo; the journey lasted six days. The voyage on the Nile is in every respect most agreeable; the landscape charming; almost every hour villages and towns are passed, and everything that is necessary can be procured. I found little chickens, called by the Arabs Jetch-Srir, very cheap here: these chickens are bred in great numbers, are hatched in ovens, and are very fat and delicious. The ovens arranged for this purpose are almost hermetically sealed, and are always divided into compartments; the Arabs who turn the eggs in the oven, and who have the charge of these things at the establishments, are very pale and wasted owing to the great heat which it is necessary to keep up for the hatching of the eggs: I was told that these people never lived to old age. — Large gardens are laid out at the mouth of the Nile, in which a great quantity of cucumbers (Arabic dilla), melons (batich), and pumpkins (kishua) are grown.— One day I went to a village in order to buy some bread, there was none to be had: an Arab asked me to wait a few minutes, and he would get some for me. He took quickly some flour and water and made some dough, shaped it into the form of a cake, and placed it in the sun: in a few minutes the cake was ready. This reminded me of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, — for the Bible tells us that they took their dough upon their shoulders, and baked it in the sun. (An account of the Medrash Rabba.)

On the sixth day we arrived at Baluck, the harbour of Cairo. There is a steam-boat from Mackmadia to Baluck, and by this the journey only lasts eighteen hours; but I went by another ship, as I wished to see something of the

neighbourhood and its inhabitants. From Baluck to Cairo is a distance of an hour's journey through beautiful gardens; the landscape is intersected by many canals for the purpose of irrigation. The inundations of the Nile are celebrated by a festival. The inhabitants arrange parties of pleasure on the water; the sounds of merry music are heard, and joy reigns around; for a fruitful prosperous year is expected, because there, for want of rain, it is the Nile alone that fructifies the soil.

In Cairo also there are two Jewish communities; one African and one Italian. The first numbers about 6000 families, and the latter from 200 to 250 families.¹ In the year 1846 the two communities sent for a Chacham, Eliahu Israel, from Jerusalem, as their Chacham had died. The new Chacham had two wives, as had also my host with whom I lodged in Cairo, Mailum Moses Mosero, a money-changer, and the father of my former host in Alexandria. The two communities together have eight synagogues, of which one is called the Synagogue of Rambam (Maimonides). It contains several apartments for the reception of travellers. The town is large and thickly inhabited; but the streets are narrow and very dirty, although, on account of the intense heat, they are besprinkled with water three times a day.

From Cairo to Ancient-Cairo, which the Jews call Masar-al-Atik, is about an hour's journey. Many ruins are to be found on this road, and the town of Ancient-Cairo itself is also nearly a ruin. Only a few poor Arabs live there, and ten Jewish families, likewise very poor, and supported by their richer brethren in Cairo. There are two Synagogues in the place, of which the first, Al-Karkujan, is fallen into ruins, but the second, Al-Shamjan, although a very ancient building, is still in good condition. Some of the Jews call the latter Synagogue Kenesseth-Eliahu, and say that Elijah once appeared there. It is supported inside by twelve marble columns, and has two sacred arks of the covenant,

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 98, speaks of 2000 Jews.

one placed over the other. Over the upper one is an inscription in square Hebrew characters, which, however, has become defaced by time and is almost illegible. This ark of the covenant is carefully locked, and no one is allowed to go up and open it. I requested the attendant to allow me to do so in order to see what the chest contained; but he refused my request, and told me that he had now held his office for 20 years, but had never himself once gone up, as it was supposed that he who did so would die in the same year. He further told me that this chest contained manuscripts written by the renowned Ezra, and that the chest was kept carefully closed to protect them from injury. When I heard this, I urged my request the more, but, notwithstanding all my pleadings and entreaties, I could not succeed in obtaining permission to see the contents of the chest. When I found this, I remarked laughing that doubtless the whole affair was but a fable, got up by some Chacham in order to act upon the credulity of the people: whereupon they called me a reformer, who would not believe in miracles.¹

As the matter, however, deeply interested me, I made researches and inquiries concerning it, sought in many books for some account of the Pentateuch, but was not able to learn or find out anything about it. At last in 1854, when I was at Tlemsan in Algeria, lodging in the house of a certain Moses Sarbeth, a learned and rich man, who possessed an extensive library, I happened, accidentally one sleepless night, to take up some books in order to study, and in the second part of the *Shem Hagdolim* at the letter *Ajin* (א) I found as follows: In the year 5248 Rabbi Obadiah of Bartanura was in Cairo; having left that place for Jerusalem, he wrote a letter to his father, in which he speaks thus: „I was in Ancient-Mizraim (Egypt), and went into the synagogue of Elijah, where was a Pentateuch kept

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 98, likewise mentions these two Synagogues, but he does not, however, speak of the Pentateuch.

in a chest in the handwriting of Ezra. A traveller from Western countries bribed the attendant, took out the Pentateuch, and went away with it. But when he was at sea, he was shipwrecked and drowned, and the Pentateuch was lost with him: the attendant died in the same year." The author of the *Shem Hagdolim* adds, that when he was in Ancient-Cairo he was likewise told about this Pentateuch; but when he went into the Synagogue they would not show it to him, and the Chachamim of the town had told him in confidence that the above narration was correct, and that in the ark of the covenant there was now only an empty chest. I found afterwards in the first volume of the *Shem Hagdolim* at the same letter (*ä*) as in the second volume, a passage where the author mentions that later in the five books of Moses, printed at Amsterdam with the commentaries Chinach and David Tow, he had found in the part *Waichi* a remark of Rabbi Menachem Halevi, which asserts that the Rambam (Maimonides) had copied the five books of Moses from the Pentateuch in Ancient-Mizraim (Egypt), and that this Pentateuch had been brought at the time of the Talmudists from Jerusalem to Ancient-Mizraim. Later the Rambam heard that in Burgundy there was really a Pentateuch written by the hand of Ezra, upon which he went there and examined it, and found that the Parshiot, Pituchot, and Sithomoth quite agreed with those copied by himself in Ancient-Mizraim. The date of this fact was the 28th of Sivan (Jar, May). — Thus the whole tradition of this Pentateuch and its authorship by Ezra is false; but I had got the desired explanation; and was glad that I had regarded the whole affair from the beginning as a fable.

Without the city of Ancient-Cairo is shewn a Synagogue, which is said to have been the house of prayer of Moses, and the Jews call the building after his name.¹ This tradition may possibly be true, as in Exodus IX. 29 we read, that Moses said to King Pharaoh: „As soon as I

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, p. 102, likewise speaks of this Synagogue.

am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto the Lord."

Several other ancient and interesting relics are to be found here; for instance, a small palace built of different kinds of stone, which belonged to Joseph; only the upper part of which is decayed. This building is surrounded by a wall, and called by the Arabs Beth-el-Joseph; and from the terrace there is a fine extensive view as far as the desert.

Near this building is a very deep pit, to which there is a descent of 570 steps, dug out of the earth. It is called by the Arabs Bir-al-Joseph (Joseph's pit), and they assert it is the dungeon into which Joseph was thrown by Potiphar. Two Arab girls with lights accompany those travellers who wish to examine the place, and for this they charge one piastre. Down in the pit is to be found a very fresh clear spring of water, and likewise a catafalque, in which rest, they say, the remains of a servant of Joseph, buried there by order of his master. In former times it often happened that travellers visiting this pit were murdered and robbed by the Arabs; but this is now prevented by means taken by the authorities for public safety.

The dress of the Egyptian Jews is like that worn by the Jews in Turkey. Many wear white turbans, and they often dress with great splendour. The women are also attired like those of Turkey; their headdress alone differs from that of the Turkish Jewesses, for they wear a red fez, the tassel of which consists of long single silken threads, hanging down to the feet. At the end of each thread is attached a silver or some other coin, whereby this headdress is made very heavy. I once had such a fez in my hand, and I should reckon its weight to have been about ten pounds. The long tassels with the coins attached to them cause quite a ringing sound when the women appear in the street. The general language in speaking and writing is Arabic, but many also speak Italian. All are very atten-

tive and generous to strangers. I remarked in the Synagogue that their intonation in the reading of the portion for the week is quite different from that of the German and Portuguese Jews; but it was good, and made a particularly edifying impression upon me.

The houses are handsome and richly ornamented inside, but they have no windows: light comes from the terrace above. — The rich live almost entirely in the European style; and as already mentioned, many young chickens and pigeons, which are very cheap, are eaten here.

On account of the heat, the water for drinking is very flat; and in order to make it cool and drinkable, they use cooling vessels made out of a kind of bluish earth; these vessels are filled over night, and placed upon the terraces.

From Cairo I embarked for Damietta; the journey lasted eight days on account of the water being low, at high tide it can be done in four days.

The Jews assert that Damietta is Caphtorim mentioned in the Bible. The Targum translates it into Kaputkai, and by this name it is known to the Talmudists.¹

In Damietta dwell 50 Jewish families;² they have a Synagogue, but no Chacham, only a slaughterer (shochet).

Our brethren there are chiefly occupied in the sale of red fezes, dates, tobacco, cotton, silk, and other productions. In this city are the Consuls of the European powers.

Between Cairo and Damietta several scattered Jewish communities are to be found in some of the towns, but they have fallen into such a state of ignorance, as to be unable to repeat a Hebrew prayer. Even the slaughterer cannot read his Dinim (instructions) in the Hebrew language, but he has them in Arabic.

Six hours' journey down the Nile from Damietta is the village of Esba; here the ships wait for a favourable wind, before entering the Mediterranean Sea. — With regard to

¹ Genesis c. X. 14.

² Benjamin of Tudela speaks of 200 Jews.

the general condition of the Jews in Egypt, I will only add that our brethren live happily there under the present Government, and enjoy every privilege. They trade with all countries of Europe, — particularly with England, — and even with the farthest parts of the world. There are many very rich bankers among them. — I believe they owe all the privileges they enjoy to the great influence of the European Consuls.

This country offers every means of safety for travellers.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

II. **Trabolus (Tripoli di Berberice).**

The town of Tripoli is on the Mediterranean Sea; it is a considerable commercial town and has a large population, composed chiefly of Mussulmen. The Jewish community numbers about 1000 families: it has four Chachamim, who are called Dajanim (Justices of the place). The eldest is named Rabbi Abraham Adadi, the second Rabbi Shalom Agav, — he is blind; the third Rabbi Joseph Reuben, and the fourth Rabbi Fredjah. They are all very well versed in the Talmud and in the Codex. The community has eight Synagogues, which, since the Turkish Government has been established there, have been enlarged and well arranged. They have also teachers to educate the children in Hebrew and Italian. The Chaid (Nassi) of the community is Rabbi Shalom Titu, a rich and learned man, who possesses an extensive library (Jeshiva) in his house, and on account of his uprightness he is held in as much esteem by the Pacha as he is by the Jews and Christians. He is the partner of

another rich merchant named Moses (Arabic Misani), and carries on considerable commercial transactions with Sudan. He imports goods from France and Italy, and the Arabs from Sudan come to him with caravans bringing him dyes and ivory, for which they receive European articles in exchange. These Arabs place such perfect confidence in him, that they almost exclusively do business with him, and if they do any business with others, they certainly always desire beforehand to have his opinion and advice. He is about forty years of age, has a handsome wife and two sons, of whom the eldest, Eliahu, is fifteen, and the youngest, Isaac, twelve years of age. He has his two sons educated by European teachers in the Arabic, Hebrew, and Italian languages. He has likewise two daughters, of whom the elder, Asisa, is ten, and the other three years old. His mother, who still lives, is highly respected in his house. His dwelling, which stands in an open space, is finely situated: he lives quite in the European style, though the house is arranged according to the customs of the country. He is at the same time very religious, and never goes to his business without having first studied two hours with the young Chachamim, of whom there are several in the town. Every Saturday all the Chachamim assemble in his house, and the whole night is spent in studying the Talmud and sacred history. For the space of two months I lodged with this hospitable and learned man, and I have made the above remarks in acknowledgement of his great kindness.

In the town there were several other respected and well-informed men, whom I likewise feel myself obliged to mention: Rabbi Joseph Chalifi, broker to the French Consul, a very rich man, who also held literary meetings every Saturday; and a third, Rabbi Chaim Sirusi, who had several Chachamim studying in his house, and a beautiful Jeshiwa. This last Rabbi has two wives.

The community has an especial overseer, Rabbi Jacob Rokaeach, for the relief of the poor, who manages the funds of the community. The support of the poor and of the

Chachamim is managed by every merchant giving weekly 5 per Ct. of the gain of his business for this purpose. The overseer for the poor goes every week to the commercial people, examines their books, and takes in cash 5 per Ct. of the profits.

The Jews here are very religious. Every Monday and Thursday the Dajanim settle processes and adjust quarrels. If any one has committed a crime against religion, he is brought before the Cadi or the Chachamim, and punished by a fine or by the bastinado. Every morning and evening most of the inhabitants go to the Synagogue to perform their devotions, and many men and women fast every new moon. In the newmoon of the month of Ellul (August) almost all the Jews fast until the day of atonement; and there are even women who fast during the whole of the week. At the end of the week there is a large feast prepared, to which all friends and acquaintances are invited, and different kinds of confits and sweetmeats are sent to the houses of those who are not able to come. On the Sabbath and festival days all go to the Synagogue, and they perform their devotions there with greater fervour than I have generally seen elsewhere.

I remarked in the Synagogue that on Friday evenings the prayer Shemona Ezra or eighteen blessings (silent prayer) is prayed aloud by the reciter; a custom which is not permitted by the law. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told that formerly in their ignorance they had only kept the Sabbathday until a Chacham had instructed them in the observance of Friday evening and, in memory of this, they had determined to have this prayer recited aloud.

Many dress in the same fashion as in Tunis, others in the fashion of Algiers, and many others wear a peculiar costume consisting of a long garment reaching to the knees, a short burnon, white trowsers reaching to the knees, and red shoes. The women wear for headdress a red fez, wound round with a silk kerchief, and beautifully ornamented in different ways. To this is added a long garment, and a

wide shawl hanging from the head, thrown gracefully round the upper part of the body. They wear slippers but no stockings, their hands and feet are covered with gold and silver rings, the nails painted red and the eyebrows black.

Many streets are inhabited almost altogether by Jews although they have the privilege of fixing their residence in any part they like. Several families of Italian Jews are to be found among them, but they do not form any especial community of themselves. — Among others is a family of the name of Silva, who has immigrated from Spain, where they were formerly Christians. Our fellow-worshippers live free and happily at Tripoli; they carry on a considerable trade, and are mostly very rich. Many of them hold Government appointments in the Custom-House. With respect to their usages and habits at births, marriages and deaths, I shall speak in conclusion when I name those of all the other African Jews; for their customs are the same throughout.

The climate of Tripoli is very bad; and the inhabitants suffer particularly from severe diseases of the eye. Almost a fifth part of the whole population suffers in this way, and nearly a tenth part are entirely blind, so that I never saw so many blind persons as in this place. This disease however seems to confine itself only to the natives, for the Europeans are not affected by it, and can bear the climate better.

At the east and west of the town of Tripoli are several villages which have likewise some Jewish inhabitants. Two hours' journey to the east is the village of Amrus; here there are 50 Jewish families, we have a synagogue and a slaughterer. Two hours' journey farther on is the village of Tisuri, which contains 70 Jewish families. In these two villages and their neighborhood there are some remarkably beautiful palmwoods and vineyards. A drink called Lagwi (palmwine) is extracted from these palm trees; it is sweet, and has a pleasant flavour, but intoxicates very easily; it is sold for 1 piastre the occa. It is prepared in the following

way: the crowns of the finest palm trees are cut off, and the part is covered with a particular kind of plaster. After about fifteen days, when the whole sap of the tree has been thus drawn up, small pieces, to act as taps, are then inserted into the trunk of the tree, and beneath these, vessels are placed, into which the wine runs. I was told that in this manner sometimes 1000 to 1500 piastres worth of wine could be drawn from one tree; but the tree dies in consequence.

A journey of a day and a half from here is the village of Muslata, close to a large chain of mountains, near the coast. Here grows a particularly excellent grape. In this little place live about 150 Jewish families, who have a Chacham named Rabbi Mosheh. The Nassi of the little community is Mailum Pinchas; they likewise have a synagogue.

Again another day and a half's journey from this place over a sandy mountain lies the village of Zelitna, where are 100 Jewish families. Here good wine is produced, much corn grows, and there are several palms. A journey of a day and a half farther on, after passing through a little desert, one comes to the village of Mesurata; here live about 100 Jewish families, who have two synagogues. Very few palms are to be found near this village, but good wine and fruits. It lies close to the Mediterranean Sea, and carries on a large trade with Malta.

After a journey by sea of four days I came to the town of Bengasi. Here dwell about 400 Jewish families, who are divided into two communities, of which one is called the community of Tripoli, and the other the community of Bengasi. Each community has its own particular synagogue, but they are both superintended by the same Chacham, Rabbi Isaac Chalfon.

The villages I visited to the west of Tripoli are the following: Eight hours' journey from the town lies Sawia, a village, where very extensive palm plantations are to be found, and from whence quantities of dates are exported. The Jewish community consists of about 40 families, who

have a Chacham and a synagogue. — Two days' journey farther on, through deserts and over mountains is the village of Djebel, extending along two sides of a mountain: hence its name. The inhabitants of this place occupy themselves entirely in agriculture and cattle breeding. There are 100 Jewish families here, whose Nassi is Isaac Medina. In one part of the village stands a synagogue called Grebe, to which pilgrimages are made. The Arabs consider this synagogue sacred, and relate fabulous wonders about it; hence it is that all this synagogue contains is perfectly safe from pillage. — An hour's journey from here is a small castle called Birs-al-Askar, in which about 1000 men are stationed, in order to suppress any turbulent movement which might be made. — A journey of a day and a half farther on, through a very flat country in which graze numerous flocks of sheep, is to the village of Ghurian, where 120 Jewish families reside, their Nassi is called Chomani. This village is employed in agricultural pursuits and in the breeding of cattle; many figtrees also are found here. — Two hours' journey from thence is the village of Beneabbas. In these two last mentioned villages the inhabitants have the strange custom of building their houses in the ground, which have the advantage of being very cool in summer and warm in winter.

In all the above mentioned villages the houses are most wretched. In the apartments, mats of palm twigs are spread over the bare floor, and upon these the inhabitants repose; carpets are nowhere to be seen. Their dress is dirty; it consists of a fez bound round with a kerchief, a garment reaching to the knees, and trowsers of the same length. They continue to wear the same articles of clothing until they drop into rags; on Saturday, however, they change their linen. They put on a burnon when they go out. The women wear a long robe ornamented with silver coins and

medals, and a fez the same as the men. They wrap a woollen shawl round their head and the upper part of their body; their feet are decorated with rings, and are bare like those of the men. Their holiday dress is but seldom washed, their every day clothes *never*; it can easily therefore be imagined that they are very dirty.

I took a suitable opportunity to make inquiries of some of my fellow-worshippers, how it was that so little importance was attached to either cleanliness of person or of dress; for besides the unpleasant impression their uncleanness made on every one, they were moreover acting against the law, as the Bible in several places gives directions with respect to the cleansing and washing of apparel. In answer to this, I was told that it was caused by fear of the Arabs, who, if they saw them different would imagine they were rich, and plunder them daily. This excuse seemed feasible.

For two hours early in the morning the women are occupied in grinding the corn, from which they afterwards make bread: they may generally be heard singing at their task. It struck me particularly that the beds of these people were in a remarkably good condition. Their food is very bad; two of their dishes, which are regarded as delicacies, but which would disgust an European, are the following: *Zu-meta* and *Busi*. The first is thus prepared: barley is dried until it is almost scorched, after this it is ground, the flour sifted and mixed with ground carroway seeds. Some water is then poured over this mixture, it is pressed and kneaded in the hand until it becomes dough, and this is eaten with raw onions. They drink water with it, and the dish is much relished. *Busi* is prepared in the following way: water is boiled, and salt and wheat flour poured into it; this is well mixed, until it becomes a thick, hard dough, which is put into a large dish; a greasy sauce is then made and poured over it. The whole family then seat themselves round the dish, and, as knives and forks are not used, each plunges his hand into the dish, tears off a portion of the dough, dips it several times into the greasy

sauce, and then eats it. The whole proceeding was so disgusting to me, that I really could not look at it, and these two delicacies of the country are enjoyed alike by Jews and Christians, sick and healthy. From this, some idea can be formed of the discomforts a traveller in these countries has to experience.

Besides agricultural pursuits and the breeding of cattle, the cultivation of the wine and the planting of dates, palms, and pomegranates are the principal employments of the Jews in these villages. They likewise employ themselves in weaving, and make woollen covers for sale, blacksmiths and locksmiths are also to be found among them, and makers of peculiar brushes used in dressing woollen clothes. Jews in bad circumstances are very seldom to be found here; many of them are very wealthy, and almost all can obtain a livelihood; for as the Arabs themselves pay no attention to trade, they buy all they require of the Jews. Those who live near the sea carry on likewise a wine and corn trade. — Although Government allows them perfect freedom, they still suffer much from the fanaticism of the Arabs.

Besides the above mentioned villages, there are others still in which Jews reside; but as I have not seen them, I can say nothing of them.

All the Jews of these villages are under the superintendence of the Chachamim of Tripoli, for all the surrounding neighbourhood belongs to the Pachalik of that town.

CHAPTER XL.

III. Tunis.

From Tripoli, Tunis can be reached by land as well as by water. I chose the latter mode of travelling, as the journey by land is very dangerous, and at the end of September 1853, I set sail in an Arab ship going to Zerbi. With a favourable wind the voyage lasts from two to three days, but we were overtaken by a sudden storm, so that for the space of eight days we were beaten to and fro, and at length driven back to Tripoli, where, close to the harbour, our ship was dashed to pieces. The passengers, however, were saved. I remained there during the festival days, and then embarked for the second time, and after a passage of two days arrived safely at Zerbi.

Before entering the town, a quarantine of ten days has to be performed, for which purpose a large building has been erected close to the sea, and in that dirty house the ten days appear to pass to the traveller like ten years.

The town of Zerbi is divided into two parts, of which one is on the coast. In this part are situated the manufactories where business is carried on. The best *Taleths* to be found in Turkey are made at this place. In this portion of the town live also the European Consuls and the rich *Mohametans*. Half an hour's distance from here, and separated from it by a tract of sand, is the other part of Zerbi, and in this part reside the Jewish inhabitants, numbering about five hundred families. They have several *Chachamim*, of whom the first Rabbi is called *Salomo Matuk*,

and the second Rabbi, Nisim Semama: the Chachamim are not paid by the community, for they themselves are rich manufacturers. The place has two synagogues, both tolerably large; one of them is attended by Cohanim (priests) only, and is therefore called the Priests' Synagogue. In no town are so many priests to be found as here; they form nearly a third part of the community. The Jews are very religious and well instructed in the Talmud; forming a contrast to those living in Tripoli, who are rather ignorant. Their trade flourishes, and many of them likewise possess large manufactories, in which Taleths, turbans, woollen and cotton stuffs are prepared. They also occupy themselves with cultivating the soil and the wine. Their commercial intercourse is directed particularly towards Malta, and many Europeans too come to Tunis for business transactions. Their dwellings are tolerable, but their food is bad; barley bread is eaten, and it is only when a stranger visits a house that wheaten bread is baked in his honour.

Numerous scorpions are found in Zerbi, and many deaths are yearly caused by the sting of these dreadful animals.

The men dress according to the fashion of Tunis, with only this difference that they wear no stockings, but only red shoes. The women dress according to the same fashion, and when they go abroad they wrap themselves in a large woollen shawl, so that nothing can be seen of the face. They wear neither shoes nor stockings; and if one of them were to do it, she would be thought a woman of no character, who wished to make herself conspicuous. The houses are built in the most simple manner possible, of street dirt and stones; inside and outside covered with lime or chalk. Every one is his own architect, and builds according to his own taste, but it can only be done in winter, as, otherwise, he would be in want of the greatest thing that is — street dirt — which is only to be had at that time of the year when the rain falls. A heavy rain penetrates into these slightly built houses, as they are only furnished with terraces and have no roofs. In the year 1853 in the month

of October it rained very heavily for the space of three days; thereby two thirds of the town were destroyed, — almost all the houses injured, — and quite a lake formed itself between the two parts of the town, so that, in order to get from one part to the other, they had to make use of ships and canoes. The warehouses also were much injured.

Two hours' journey to the South-East of the town is the village of Deged, which contains 50 Jewish families, and has a small synagogue. About half an hour's journey from this place the community has another tolerably large and ancient synagogue, which they call Grebe. To this synagogue they repair to perform their devotions on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, as well as on festival days. This synagogue is regarded very sacred; and they relate that a stone was once found here with the inscription: „Up to this place came Joab ben Zeruja — the general of King David.“ I desired to see this stone, but I was told that it was walled in the place where stood the sacred covenant of the ark. The synagogue has no windows, as is the case with all synagogues in Tripoli. I was informed that this arrangement had been made, in order that the Arabs should be prevented from throwing fire into the building from the outside.

Two days' journey by sea from Zerbi is the town of Cables; here dwell about 100 Jewish families. Their Chacham and Nassi is David Cohen, who has two wives, is very rich, and carries on a great business with the tract of land called Isrit, in the desert, three days' journey from Cables. In the manufactories of Cables are made the burnons for the whole territory of Tunis; the Arabs likewise carry on a great trade in cattle. The dress and customs are like those of Zerbi, only the women have their faces uncovered, and on their feet they wear red shoes but no stockings. The Jews occupy themselves chiefly in agriculture, and with wine and palm plantations. The Arabs employ themselves much in the breeding of cattle, particularly of sheep and camels. In

the year 1853 the rain did much damage here as in other parts.

Half an hour's journey from Cabel is a little place called Sara, in which dwell about 50 Jewish families, who employ themselves in the same manner as those living in Cabel. The ruler of the place lives at Tunis, and only comes to this neighbourhood three months in the summer. With him come the receiver of taxes for the Government of Tunis, Cadi Nathan Shemana, with his son Salomo, and they collect the tributes. The tax-receiver, who has a military escort with him, pitches his tent about an hour's distance from this place, whither the Arabs of the whole locality repair to pay their dues. In this place there are many warm mineral springs, but they are not used by the inhabitants of the country, their valuable properties not being known: I bathed in them several times, and experienced their invigorating effects.

I have still to mention a few more places which I have not visited myself, but have heard described. Three days' journey from Cabel lies, in the desert, a tract of country called Isrit, and by the Jews called Eretz Hatmarim (country of dates); here likewise grow many palms. There are several towns in this little country. The first is Gaffa, two days' journey farther on is Tozer, again one day's journey farther on Nefta, and another day's journey still farther Gamar, where the boundaries of Tunis and Algeria meet. Jews live in all these places, and have a Chacham in common, named Rabbi Salomo Bursil, a very learned and good man. The Jewish inhabitants, as well as the native Arabs occupy themselves in agricultural pursuits, the breeding of cattle, and the cultivation of dates and palms; but few carry on any trade. — These statements I have heard verbally from natives.

From Cabel to Sfax you can travel by land or water; both ways are, however, very unsafe; the former on account of the Bedouins, and the latter owing to the great ignorance of the captains of the ships. I preferred the voyage by sea,

but we had to undergo many hardships. Several times we were in danger of being dashed on the rocks, and the flow and ebb of the tide caused us much trouble. Our journey lasted ten days, so that at length our provisions were exhausted. We arrived at the little island of Kerkena, eighteen hours' journey in length and four hours' in breadth, between Cables and Sfax. The island is unfruitful and uncultivated; only wild dates grow there. The Arabs support themselves by fishing, and sell dried fish, with which we satisfied our hunger during the last four days of our voyage. The inhabitants of the island pay no taxes, as they are all soldiers. On the tenth day we arrived at Sfax, and when I first saw the place, it seemed to me as if I was entering a paradise. The streets are paved and clean, the houses very neat and in appearance comfortable, the food good, and of a nice flavor. Nearly 150 Jewish families live here, and they have two synagogues. The Chacham of the community is named Rabbi Saul Chay, the Nassi Rabbi Eliahu Suback. The latter, with whom I lodged, is also tax-collector for the Government, and very rich. Several Italian families also dwell here. — The Jews carry on extensive commercial transactions, with Tunis, Malta and Italy, to which they export wool, cotton, corn and olive oil. Their dress resembles that of the Jews of Tunis.

In Sfax the ebb and flow of the tide is very strong; it lasts daily 12 hours, from midnight until midday, and the water recedes about an hour's journey, so that the ships stand dry. From here one can go by sea to Mehedia, Micknin, Monastir and Susa; but, as I had endured so many annoyances during my last sea journey, I joined a caravan, and determined to try the land-route. The Chacham of Sfax travelled with me. The road is through deserts and over mountains, and lasts five days.

Halfway is a valley, about an hour's journey in breadth, its soil is quite white, as if covered by a crust of salt; the Arabs call it Geh-Melch (valley of salt). The Jews of the neighbourhood assert that this is the spot mentioned in

Psalm LX, 2, and say that Joab ben Zeroja came up to this spot with his army, as the Psalm relates. I asked for some proofs of this assertion; upon which my travelling companion, Chacham Saul, explained to me that about an hour's distance from here was a village called Elgemme, where the caravans halt, and here there was a large, ancient stone building with a Hebrew inscription, the purport of which was as follows: „Ad Khan Higia Joab ben Zeroja“ (that is to say: „Up to this place came Joab the son of Zeruah“). I was incredulous, and replied that anybody might have written that inscription, but to this he remarked that the inscription was in ancient characters. — I had become so full of curiosity, that the time seemed too long before I came to the place where I could make my own researches. Immediately on my arrival in the village in question, I hired an Arab, to whom I gave 2 rajals (6 piastres), to act as guide and show me everything worth seeing; my travelling companion accompanied me. We arrived at the ancient building. It is round, in the middle of it is a large courtyard, which I found to be about 320 feet long, and the same in breadth. The portal of the door is about 30 feet high, and 16 wide. The building itself has five stories, and is about 120 feet in height. In each story are 60 chambers, with a window in each. The breadth of the rooms with the two side walls is about 60 feet. Under the rooms of the first story are large caves, which are entered from the interior, and among them in one which extends as far as Mehedia, a distance of 12 hour's journey. The stones of the building are very large and thick. The upper story is nearly in ruins, as the Arabs have broken away the stones to build their own houses. On the outside of the second story, on the northern side, is the inscription. I clambered through the window on to a stone in the wall which somewhat projected, and my Arab guide held me firm from the inside of the room, while I read the inscription. My travelling companion remained in the room, and I called out to him each letter that was hewn in the stone, and he

wrote it down. The form of the characters is not square, but resembles that of the Sefardim (Portuguese Jews). The letters were as follows: *Ha, Nun* (final), *Thet, Waw, Daleth, Mem, Nun* (initial), *Waw, Thet, Samech, Pe, Kaph, Nun* (final), *Mem, Pe, Nun* (initial), *Waw, Thet, Daleth, Mem, Nun* (initial), *Chaph, Waw, Nun* (initial), *Zadi, Kaph*. Many of the letters I could not at all decipher. In German the letters are as follows: *H, N, T, W, D, M, N, W, T, S, P, K, N, M, P, N, W, T, D, M, N, K, W, N, Z, K*. I could make nothing out of it, at least nothing like what my travelling companion had mentioned; perhaps in the dangerous position I occupied on the wall it may be that I overlooked something. I therefore only note down the letters of the inscription in order to make other travellers attentive to the fact, and to induce them to make further researches. — I believe that the tradition related to me is incorrect, and that the building dates from the Romans; the inscription may have originated later in some unknown way. In many parts of the building I found the names of European travellers, who had visited this place, and to these names I added mine.

In two and a half days I arrived at Susa. We were obliged to hurry our journey so much as to travel by night as well as by day; and this reminded me of the words of Jacob, who exclaimed: „In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from my eyes.“¹

Susa is a large fortress, lying close to the sea; it possesses a strong garrison. The Jews are divided into two communities: African and Italian. The first numbers about 250, and the Italian about 150 families; both have the same Chacham, whose name is Rabbi Nathan Bursil. The Cadi is called by the Arabs Chogi, and by the Jews Isaac; he is the son of the first Chacham at Tunis, Rabbi Jeshua Basis, and son-in-law to the Cadi at Tunis, Josef Semana. The

¹ Genesis c. XXXI. 40.

superintendent of the Italian community is Rabbi Jehuda Halevi of Gibraltar. Each community has a synagogue; that of the Africans is a large old stone building, that of the Italians a small house, one story high. For the most part our brethren here are very well informed; they speak Arabic and Italian. Their dwellings and food are tolerably good, and they are generally rich and some even wealthy. They carry on a flourishing trade in wool, and a still greater one in olive oil, which is exported in great quantities. Many Christians live also in this town, and they are engaged in similar branches of trade. Both Jews and Christians enjoy every privilege under this Government.

Two days' journey from here is the town of Nabal, a dirty place, completely surrounded by mountains. Here dwell about 100 Jewish families. Their Chacham and Nassi Rabbi Chay Algez, is chiefly with the Bey in Tunis; he is a very clever man, and endeavours to foretell the future by algebraic calculations, and he has a decided believer in the Bey. The community has one synagogue. But few Jews here are engaged in trade; they mostly devote themselves to agricultural pursuits. They speak Arabic.

A journey of one day from hence brings one to Hammamet (bath). There are most beautiful baths and lovely plantations in this place, and I spent several days here to refresh myself. Half a day's journey from this delightful spot is Tunis.

Near the town of Tunis are still to be seen the ruins of the ancient city of Hannibal, the rival of Rome.

In Tunis there dwell about 15,000 Jews belonging to the African, and about 1000 belonging to the Italian community. The African community has nine Dajanim, of which the first is the already named Jeshua Basis. He is a clever and learned man, and has still a very sharp eye notwithstanding his 80 years. He is rich and benevolent, and fills his office without any emolument. The second Rabbi, Nathan Bursil, is nearly as old as his colleague; he is tall, and has a distinguished and noble appearance, he is

also rich, learned and charitable. The third Rabbi, Joseph Bursil, brother to the above mentioned, is about 50 years of age; he is a very learned Orientalist, and the author of the work „*Sara de Joseph*“ (Livorno 1852). I lodged some time in his house, he has a Jeshiwa and several pupils, to whom he gives instruction gratis: he himself studies almost day and night, only allowing himself a few hours for sleep. The fourth Dajan is Rabbi Abraham Cohen; the fifth Rabbi Abraham Askanansi, the sixth Rabbi Moshe Gafid, the seventh Rabbi Gay; the other two I cannot name, as I do not know them. The community possesses four large synagogues and above fifty smaller ones. There are more than 800 very fine Talmudists in the town, and the other Jews are also not badly informed.

The Italian community has three especial Dajanim. The first is Rabbi David Bunan, the second Rabbi David Kartusu, and the third Rabbi Joseph Lambrusu. They have one large and two smaller synagogues.

I need not speak of the widely spreading trade of the city of Tunis which extends over all the countries of Europe; for this is a matter generally known. The fez manufactories are here very celebrated, as well as those of dyes, both of which mostly carried on by Jews. Among the Jewish inhabitants are some very rich, some even millionaires; many of them occupy appointments under Government. For instance, the Cadi Rabbi Joseph Belaiz, president of the Jewish community, is decorated with the Nissan (order); Cadi Nisim Semama is Chancellor of the Exchequer; Cadi Salomo Bursil likewise fills some appointment, and there are many others I am not able to enumerate. All these men dress in the European style, with the exception of wearing the red fez. The Jews of Tunis are kind and upright men; the Government allows them every privilege, but they still suffer from the fanaticism of the Arabs. Their houses are generally two stories high and very clean; their courtyards are not unfrequently paved with marble, and their mode of life is good. They mostly dwell together

in one particular quarter of the town, although they are allowed to dwell elsewhere if they like. The Jewish quarter is called Chara; it has gates which are closed every evening at 10 o'clock, and opened every morning at 5 o'clock.

The town of Tunis is very dirty, and even after a slight rain, the mud is over one's shoes. It is surrounded by a wall and by a boggy ditch, which, in summer, gives a particularly offensive smell. The neighbourhood is exceedingly fruitful. The gardens round the town are beautiful, planted with the most splendid fruit trees and tropical plants, and ornamented with fountains &c. In these gardens are built charming country houses, many of which belong to our brethren.

The men wear wide cloth trowsers, stockings, and shoes, an embroidered vest, and over this a burnon. They shave their heads; the unmarried men wear a small black cap, and the married ones a turban with a black fez. The women wear a folded garment and wide trowsers of silk or satin, which are quite tight from the knee, and ornamented with rich embroideries of gold and silver. Over all this they put on a kind of silk tunic, without sleeves, reaching as far as the knee, composed generally of two different coloured kinds of stuff. They cover their head with a fez, round which is wound a silk kerchief, with the ends hanging down. They likewise wear stockings and shoes. Upon their trowsers, in particular, great extravagance is lavished; and I was told that they often cost the rich from 400 to 500 reals. The married women wear round their waist a kind of girdle. In the street they wrap themselves in a wide silk or fine woollen shawl; but leave their face uncovered, and hold up their garments as high as the knee, in order to display the embroidery on their trowsers. They are generally very beautiful, rather stout, and in their beauty resemble their sisters in Bagdad; except that the women in that town are more noble looking and graceful, while the ladies of Tunis are more corpulent. The Bagdad ladies are very industrious, while it is quite the

contrary with those in Tunis. In Tunis as well as in Bagdad the girls marry from the age of thirteen and upwards.

I here mention a peculiar and most remarkable custom of the country. Among the native women, Arabs as well as Jews and Christians, exists a firm belief in evil spirits and ghosts, and the most different kinds of events are attributed to their influence. If, for instance, a woman falls ill, and on the third day is not better, she believes herself persecuted by Satan or one of his imps, and it is a firm and general belief that there is no earthly remedy for the cure of her complaint; the woman can only regain her health by an union with the evil one, — a complete marriage. With respect to this, the most curious ceremonies are observed. The sick person invites her female relations and acquaintances to a feast; seven different dishes are cooked and served up; the women seat themselves round the table, but the sick person remains lying in her bed. Music must not fail at this entertainment; a band of musicians (tambourine and kettle drummers) is invited, but they must all be blind. When the party of women are seated round the table, the eldest of them takes an empty dirty* spoon, fills it with a portion of each of the seven dishes, and carries it to the cloaca in the courtyard; this is the portion for the evil one, then the women themselves eat the rest. The musicians make a horrible noise with their drums and tambourines, singing and howling particular songs at the same time. At the end of the meal, the women begin to dance and to jump, and get at last into such a state of excitement, that by degrees they even unrobe themselves. The patient is taken from her bed, drawn into the whirl of the dancers, deprived of her clothing, and in thus made to dance with the others in this wild frenzy. They shriek, scream, sing, till there is really quite a satanic noise; at last they all fall down exhausted, and roll about on the floor in a state bordering on convulsions. At this moment is believed that the evil one is united to the patient. After this mad ceremony the sick person *must* recover. If she does not, it is believed

that the devil despises her, and gives her up. In many cases a recovery really does take place, occasioned probably by the rapid circulation of the blood and the profuse perspiration caused by these mental and bodily exertions. If the woman recovers, she wears later, at the pretended order of the devil, a party-coloured tunic. They go so far in this nonsense as even to attribute a certain religion to the evil one and call him either a Mahometan, Jew, or Christian.

The greater part of the women suffer from this foolish idea, but the carefully and rigidly conceal these ceremonies from the eyes of the men. Notwithstanding this, I sought for and once found an opportunity of witnessing such an affair myself. In Tunis there lived a Jewish tailor from Poland, whose wife was a native of the place. On visiting him one day, I found him most depressed. On inquiring the cause of this, he told me his wife was ill, and that he must perform the devil's ceremony for her, and for this he had no money. I scolded him, and asked him how he, as a native European, could permit or countenance such folly? To this he answered that he was compelled to do so on account of her family, otherwise they would imagine he wished to kill his wife. After reflecting a little, I advised him to let the ceremony take place, and that we should conceal ourselves, and take part in it as witnesses. He should allow the women to be in peace until their wild dancing began, and that we should then suddenly appear among them. The man took my advice, but to my surprise armed himself with a stick and appearing at the right moment upon the dancing women, he began to lay about with it. With shrieks the company separated, and in the most remarkable costumes, some scarcely half dressed, they rushed out of the house. He then gave some hard blows to his wife, laid her on her bed, and left her. In the space of two days the woman had perfectly recovered, and was never again tormented by the evil one. But for some length of time I dared not show myself abroad; for this story and the part I had taken in it became known, and

the women were much enraged against me for they believed I had advised him to strike his wife.

Another time I was invited to a party, at which a number of women were present. One of the natives asked me if I should like to see such a bit of fun as I have above described, for that he would try and arrange such an amusement for me. He then went to the musicians and told them to begin the appropriate songs and music used at the devil's marriage ceremony. They began accordingly, and after a short time the women, excited by the sound of that wild music and singing, began to scream, sing and dance. One of the quieter ones begged us to put an end to the affair, and we ordered the musicians to cease. Had we not done this, we certainly should have had the whole spectacle played before us, for the women seemed, as if they were suddenly all bewitched. When quiet was restored, they quitted the party full of shame.

The Chachamim of the town have often troubled themselves to put an end to this absurd custom, but all their efforts have hitherto proved in vain.

Belief in witches and witchcraft is also general; and even some of the women offer themselves publicly in the streets to practise witchcraft, and any one who desires to hear his future foretold or to witness the magic art, calls one of these women into his house, and lets her make her experiments. I was curious to see something of this, and was at the same time anxious to prove to the people that the whole affair was absurd. Accidentally, one day just such a hag passed the house where I was on a visit, and I begged that the woman might be called in, and allowed to show her sorceries. This request was granted, but unwillingly. The woman entered, and was asked to show her art. She took a vessel, went silently to the well in the courtyard, and murmuring all the time some unintelligible words, filled in with water; she then came to me, and desired me to wash my chest and my hands in the water, and then to drink it. I did what she asked, with the exception

of the last item; whereupon the old witch foretold great success to her charms. She then took seven different kinds of pulse, wheat, maize, peas &c., and seven kinds of green stuff, put all together into a pot, poured water into it, and placed the pot on the fire. The mixture soon began to boil and bubble, and this bubbling forms the asserted spirit-voices, which, of course, are only intelligible to witches. The sorceress then began to tell me out of the bubbling pot the most wonderful things about my present, past and future, and Heaven knows what else besides. When she had finished, I told her that it was all false, and that in Europe such things were much better understood. The woman, full of curiosity, asked me to tell her how it was managed there. I told her no pot was needed for that purpose, but that she would hear a distinct voice, and *feel* the charm. I then took my stick, fought about with it in the air with loud mutterings, and then let it descend upon her with some good hard blows. Screaming and swearing she ran out of the house, and I threw her scorcery-pot after her. The people, in whose house this had taken place, were seized with terror, and did not even attempt to touch the pot, or to go near the place where it fell. I myself was obliged to clear away the fragments and contents, in order to prove there was nothing to fear. When they saw this, and found that at the end of three days no bad consequences ensued, they promised me to give up their belief in all witchcraft, by means of which money was continually being extorted from them.

One day's journey to the west of Tunis lies the town of *Bunsard* on the sea; nearly 150 Jewish families reside here, among whom are a great number of Italian Jews. They have one synagogue, and their Chacham is called Rabbi Salomon. They carry on a flourishing trade, and the commercial people among them are very rich, and at the same time well informed. There is in the town an extensive

fishery, established by the Bey, and its produce (salted and dried fish, and liver-oil) forms an important article of export trade.

The Arabs of the town belong partly to a peculiar sect, which is called Ousawi, and which is subdivided into several parties; each party taking some chosen animal as a symbol, and being called after it. Thus, there are Ousawi of lions, bears, camels, and ostriches. The followers of these sects accompany the pilgrims coming from and going to Mecca in and out of the town, a matter which is always attended with much solemnity, music, and pomp. At these festive processions the Ousawi get into such an excited state of religious fanaticism that they appear to have lost their reason. They behave like the wild animals they have taken for their symbol; they roar like a lion, growl like a bear, and I was told that they even took their food after the manner of these animals; thus the lion- and bear-Ousawi would eat raw flesh, and even tear and swallow live chickens, while the ostrich-Ousawi gulp down stones and glass, until blood flows from their mouths; and the camel-Ousawi devour thorns and thistles. Their animal ferocity in this condition goes so far, that they are obliged to be led about in chains; though the Sheik, who commands each party, possesses such great power over them that by simply touching them on the shoulder he is able to quiet them.

The Chacham of the town related to me these facts, but as I was somewhat incredulous, I asked several Arabs concerning it, and by them the accounts were confirmed; during my stay there, however, I did not see anything of it.

One day's journey from *Bunsard* in a southern direction is the town of *Erswil*, and two days' journey farther on *Matar*; again at a day and a half's journey *Bizerta*, and another day and a half's journey from thence *Tistur*, and two and a half days' journey still farther is *Rukaf*. From

this last town, a road of eight days' journey in length through the desert leads to the above mentioned date country *Isrit*. — Another road from *Rukaf* leads in four days' journey through the desert to *Bona* (Arabic Anabi). Jews live in all these places, and although they are affluent, they are for the most part ignorant. From Bunsard I returned to Tunis, and went by steam boat to Bona; we were a day and a half on the way. On the frontier between Tunis and Algeria there is a little village in the African territory where there are considerable coral fisheries.

CHAPTER XLI.

IV. Algeria.

On entering Bona, it seemed to me as if I had entered paradise after a sojourn in purgatory. The sight of a town built in the European style, and of civilised men was truly refreshing. One great draw-back, however, the Europeans have to endure here, and that is the fever, which, although not of a dangerous kind, rages among them.

In the town live about 150 Jewish families, whose Chacham, a native of Morocco, is a man of no great learning. The community has a very large ancient synagogue called Grebe, in which, on the north wall, the place of the ark of the covenant is formed by a small room to which they ascend by several steps: in this room are the Pentateuchs. This little room has a particularly sacred character. One day I remarked several Mussulman-women enter it, seat themselves for some time on the floor, and after having offered a gift, retire. I asked the cause of this; for it seemed

to me strange that Mussulman-women should visit a synagogue in such a manner; and, in reply I heard the following story. — Several hundred years ago, at very high tide in stormy weather, a plank was driven very near ashore; some Mussulmen tried to fish it out, but it receded; and the same thing happened when some Christians endeavoured to draw it out: some Jews, however, having come and made the attempt, the plank was driven to land, and there it remained. Fastened on this plank they found a Pentateuch, and this they conveyed to the synagogue, and displayed it there. From this miracle arose the belief in the holiness of the room where the Pentateuch was preserved, and whenever a woman, either Mussulman or Christian, is not well, she has only to come here, to pray and make offerings in order to recover. — I expressed my disbelief in the miraculous power of this sanctuary, and explained the history of the fishing out of the plank and the Pentateuch from the sea quite simply; for, if the story was true, perhaps some Jew might have suffered shipwreck and might have fastened the Pentateuch to a plank in order that it might not be lost; but, that it should have happened that Jews had drawn it up, when Mussulmen and Christians had failed to do it, I declared to be either an accident, or that the sea must have become calmer during the time. After such an inference they considered me an unbeliever, and scolded me as such.

The distance between Bona to Constantine can be traversed on horseback in three days.

I went by steamer to Philippeville, and thence in twelve hours to Constantine.

The town of Constantine is built on the top of a mountain; it is a considerable fortress, and surrounded by strong walls. Outside the walls, a natural moat, 200 feet deep and 40 feet broad, surrounds the town, and at a further distance a chain of mountains encircles the whole. In the upper part of the town reside the Europeans, and this is also the commercial part, whilst in the lower part live the

Africans, and most of the Jews. There are about 1000 Jewish families in the town, and they have three synagogues. Besides having a native Chacham, Rabbi Isaac Tuwiana, the community is superintended by a chief Rabbi, Rabbi Ephraim Netter, appointed by the French Government. The president of the community is Rabbi Salomon Narboni; he is a descendant of the banished Spanish Jewish families, he is about 70 years old, and very rich. The Jews carry on a considerable trade with the neighbouring Arab towns and villages, and for the most part are very wealthy.

Among the natives, Jews as well as Mussulmen and Christians, exists also a superstitious custom when any illness occurs; for here it is likewise believed, that, if any one is ill, he is pursued by an evil spirit. In order to appease and banish this spirit, a black cock is killed, and with its blood the chest and crown of the head, the eyebrows, and hands of the patient are besmeared. The cock is then cooked, and afterwards thrown into some well outside the town as an offering to the evil spirit. It is firmly believed that after this the patient will certainly recover.

At a distance of two days' journey, south east of Constantine, is *Batna*, one day's journey farther on *Biskera*, a day and a half farther is *Cidagua*, and one day's journey from there is *Ginge*. Near the latter place is the boundary between Algeria and Tunis, and from thence one reaches Isrit. Little Jewish communities dwell in all these places but there is nothing worthy of note to say concerning them.

One and a half days' journey north west of Constantine is the town of *Setif*, which has only been recently built. About 100 Jewish families, who have come from Cabyla, have settled here. Their president is David, a son-in-law of Narboni in Constantine. The second superintendent is Eliahu Mammi, with whom I lodged. The little community has built for itself a beautiful new synagogue; but altogether they are very ignorant, and live according to the customs adopted by them in Cabyla. Although their houses are built in the European style, still in the interior they more

resemble the tents in which they used to dwell among the Cabyles. They dress in a very simple manner, wearing a long garment reaching down to the ancles, and over this they hang a burnon. They cover their heads with a fez, over which is a small turban. The women dress in a manner quite as simple. Care has of late been bestowed on the instruction of the children.

Not far from Setif begins the country of the Cabyles. On my inquiring of the Jews of Setif, if there were many fellow-worshippers among the Cabylan tribes, I received an assurance in the affirmative; according to their assertions there is a considerable Jewish tribe at Cabyla, whom the Arabs call Bene-Mussa (children of Moses), tall, brave warriors. — May not these be the Bene-Moshe of whom my fellow-worshippers speak? — It was also told me that there was likewise an Arab tribe of the name of Emare, whom the other Mahometans call Chums. They are followers of Mahometanism and are called Chums (five) because, as it was told me, after they have washed themselves according to the directions of the law before divine service, they make some mysterious sign with their five fingers pressed together, for which reason they are hated and despised by the other Mahometans. The tribe of the Chum Arabs is very hospitable, and when a traveller comes to them, he is sure of a friendly shelter from one of them, and they even bring him a companion from among the widows of the tribe.

Two days' journey from Setif is the town of *Bu-Sada*, and three days' journey to the south is *Luguard*; this was conquered by the French in the year 1852, on which occasion very many Jews, who were among the Arab warriors, perished. Eight days' journey southward from this last place is *Beni-Mezab*, the Arab inhabitants of which form an independant tribe; — Ali, the Persian founder of religion, is honoured by them as a prophet. A tolerably large community dwells in the town, but they are under great oppression. I conversed with several Arabs from Beni-Mezab, and they told me that the Jews dwelling among them were

mostly professional men, and that but few carried on any trade.

Near this town begins the great desert of *Sahara*. A journey of twenty days through the desert brings one to *Sudan*, in the middle of Timbuctoo; only one small market town is to be found half way on the road. Caravans go there but very seldom, for if one does venture to do so, it generally goes to its own destruction.

I had intended to undertake a journey to Timbuctoo, but my limited means prevented me from carrying out this project.

I travelled from Setif to *Bugia* (Arabic Busaje) on horseback; a three days' journey through deserts and over great mountains. Thence I departed by steamer for Algeria.

It was in March 1854 that I arrived in Algeria. It is not necessary for me to speak of this town, its harbour, and the extensive trade and commerce which have there been developed; all this is sufficiently well known, and has often been described. About 1000 Jewish families reside there. The chief Rabbi appointed by the French Government is A. M. Weill. He is the chief superintendent of all the Jews in Algeria, and a very learned and benevolent man. The secretary of the community is R. Simon, an European, and likewise very well informed. The second chief Rabbi is Rabbi Jacob Smasi, an African. The Dajanim are Rabbi Sadia Amur, Rabbi David Mati, his brother Saul Mati, and Rabbi Salomo Delila; all well versed in the Talmud and Codex. The community possesses two large and ten small synagogues. — Much care is bestowed in the schools upon the instruction of the children in the Hebrew and French languages.

In this town I remained nearly six months, and published there my two works: „*Une année de séjour aux Indes orientales*“ (printed by Dubos frères), and „*Nesiad Israel*“ (printed by Chaim Cohen Shulal). During my stay there I found a most hospitable reception in the house of Isaac Stora, a very rich manufacturer, descended from the banished Jews

of Spain. He has taken his name from the former residence of his parents, Stora (near Skigada). On the ancient place of burial belonging to the community are to be found the tombs of two celebrated Rabbis, Rabbi Isaac bar Shesheth, author of „*Riwas*“, and Simon ben Cemath, author of „*Tashbaz*“. The family of the latter is called Duran by the native Jews.

The houses of the Jews are built in the European style, and are very neat and clean. Some of them live in the European, others in the African style. Some of the men dress after the fashion of Tunis, and many of the young men wear European attire. The women and girls wear a long silk dress without any sleeves, and decorated on the breast with gold embroidery. The girls cover their heads with a small pointed cap, on which is fastened gold medallions, and from the peak hangs down a gold or silken tassel. The women wear a fez, which by many of them is wound round with gold and pearls, while others have only a silk kerchief; the hair hangs down in one long braid, twisted round with a blue ribbon.

Among the natives of this town is likewise prevalent a superstitious belief in sorcery, witchcraft, and incantations. In cases of illness they go with an Arab sorceress to a spring which rises near the town, and there, with incantations, they kill a black cock, by cutting its throat with a gold coin, and then with its blood they besmear the chest, forehead &c. of the patient. After this, the sorceress kindles a fire, throws different perfumes into it, and then besprinkles this also, as well as the patient, with the blood of the slaughtered cock. After this ceremony the patient is said to recover. All these magical performances only take place on Wednesdays from 8 o'clock in the morning until midday. I myself went once to the place appointed for the purpose, and found upwards of 200 men and women occupied in these ceremonies. The Jewish women have the cock killed for them by their own slaughterer, and take the blood

with them in a glass vessel. These ceremonies are called Bechor.

Six hours' journey from Algiers by omnibus is the town of *Blidah*; about 100 Jewish families live here, they have two synagogues, but no Chacham. It struck me as remarkable that the Jews in this town are unable to pronounce the Hebrew Kuph (hard K): they pronounce it like Uph. They live mostly in the African manner, are in general very rich, and carry on a flourishing trade.

Eight hours' journey by omnibus from Blidah is *Medeah*, there reside 300 Jewish families; they have four synagogues and a Chacham named Rabbi Jeshua, who occupies himself with the cabala, and wears only white garments. He is tolerably well versed in the Talmud, and has two wives. — I lodged in the town with the Merchant Rabbi Moshe Ajes, a very rich man.

After a journey on horseback of a day and a half I arrived at *Miljanah*; there reside about 400 Jewish families, who have three synagogues and a Chacham, Rabbi Jacob from Morocco. The town is situated on the summit of a high mountain, and is encircled by a chain of mountain which is the most important in Algeria. The mountain air is particularly fresh and healthy, and in the town there is an abundance of good fresh water. Although the houses are built in the European style, their interior arrangements, as well as the mode of life of the inhabitants are quite in accordance with the customs of the natives.

A further ride of the mountains brought me to *Nittelchad*. This town lies in a beautiful valley: it is still in its infancy, and the French are building a fortress there. About 20 Jewish families reside here; they have no Chacham, but possess a small synagogue; their dwellings and mode of life are quite African.

A further journey of a day and a half on horseback brought me to *Tijerad*. This town is built on a little hill, and is still in an unfinished state; here also the French are making fortifications. The Jewish community consists of

100 families, who have a synagogue and a Chacham, Rabbi Abraham, a native of Oran, and with him I lodged. The Jews have immigrated here from Cabyla, and like those of Setif have remained faithful to their former customs and habits. Here also superstition is as prevalent as in other towns. If any person is ill, a cock is killed and its flesh is cooked, which is then called kuskus; it is eaten at a small entertainment to which acquaintances are invited. The remains as well as the feathers of the cock, are then thrown into a well, and this is supposed to be an effectual magical charm to cure illness. — Another much employed magic remedy for illness is the following: They take a bottle or flask of oil, and at night, in order to prevent any one from seeing it, they go into the street, and pour the oil at nine different places on the thresholds of their neighbours' houses; this custom is called Chania.

After another two days' journey on horseback I came to *Maskara*; here reside about 150 Jewish families; they have two synagogues and a Chacham, Rabbi Salomo. I lodged with the merchant Usana, the superintendent of the community, and a very influential man in business.

At a journey of a day and a half south from this place lies the town of *Mostaganem*, and it is just as far to Oran. The first mentioned town is situated about half an hour's journey from the sea, and about 300 Jewish families live there. There Chacham is Rabbi Aron from Tlemsan; they have also two synagogues. The superintendent of the community is Rabbi Abu. In this town live two very rich Jewish merchants, Salomo Zerphati, a very benevolent man, and Abraham Kinovi, an avaricious millionaire. In *Mostaganem* I lodged with the merchant Baduch-ben-Chaim, an important manufacturer, who bestowed on me the kindest attention during my illness.

From the latter town, *Oran* can be reached by carriage in twelve hours, and by steamer in eight hours. Oran lies close to the sea, and is built partly in a valley, and partly on the side of a mountain: the importance and extent of

its trade is universally known. About 500 Jewish families dwell there; they possess five synagogues. The chief Rabbi appointed by the French government is Rabbi David Cohen; the Dajanim are native Africans, Rabbi Jeshua, Rabbi Amaram &c. The president of the Consistorium is Abraham-ben-Jesu, whose brother, Rabbi Chaim, is a very learned man, and well versed in Hebrew, Arabic, and French; both are very charitable. — The Jews here live and dwell partly in the European and partly in the African style. — Near the town is a high mountain, Djebel Djudi, where are still to be found ancient fortifications of the time of the Romans. I lodged with a rich druggist named Michlav Assass. Many Jews from Morocco, particularly from the town of Tetuan, have settled in Oran, and a great number of Spaniards (Christians) have likewise settled themselves here, as in eight hours one can cross over to Spain. Arabic, French, and Spanish are spoken in the town. A steamer comes to Oran every five days from Algiers, and every ten days from Marseilles; and this last goes on to Gibraltar.

From *Oran*, Tlemsan can be reached by omnibus in twelve hours. Here dwell 500 Jewish families, who have three synagogues. The Dajanim are: Rabbi Mirod, and Rabbi Samuel; the superintendent is Rabbi Jacob, and the second superintendent is Maimon Serbeth. In the Jewish burial ground are the remains of Rabbi Ephraim Aluncava, who came here among other banished Jews from Spain; who being denied admission, they settled outside the walls. Rabbi Ephraim was a very skillful doctor, and by his learning and unselfishness he was the cause of his exiled brethren being allowed to enter and dwell in the town. It happened thus: The daughter of the Cadi was dangerously ill, and given over by all the doctors. Then Rabbi Ephraim entreated the distressed father to allow him to give his help as a last resource, — and in ten days the patient was restored to health. As the sole recompense for this he implored the Cadi to permit his brethren to dwell in the town. — His request was granted. I went to the burial

ground in order to find on his tombstone the date of his death; although the inscription was much defaced, I could still decipher the following: „Bisnat Rb. Niftar Rb.“ i. e. in the year 5202, according to Biblical calculation (1442), did the Rabbi die. In the *Shem Hagdolim* (Wilna 1853) fol. 16 I found a paragraph about him as follows: „Rabbi Ephraim Aluncava was a great Rabbi in the town of Tlemsan in Algeria, and author of the work *Shaar Kewoth Adonai*.“ The Jews of the town and neighbourhood venerate the tomb of the Rabbi, and make pilgrimages to it. On these occasions they take food with them, and after prayers partake of part of it at the tomb, and the remains are divided at home among the family; this custom is called *Said debe Raw* (repast of the Rabbi). Some of them also take some earth from the grave with them, and wear it round their necks; for, according to their belief, this would preserve them in all diseases. The house and synagogue of the Rabbi Ephraim are still in existence, and annually Jews assemble there for devout prayer, after which a feast is arranged.

The town is situated in a very healthy position, and carries on a very flourishing trade. Jews dwell in the neighbouring mountains among the Arabs, but I did not visit them. In Tlemsan I lodged with the merchant Moses Serbeth, a rich manufacturer, who possesses a good Hebrew library.

One day's journey from here is the town of *Madroma*, which is inhabited by Arabs. It is very dirty. The Jewish community consists of 50 families, and possess a synagogue and a slaughterer; although very rich, they are still ignorant, and live according to the customs of the Cabyles.

Six hours' journey farther is the town of *Ghazuwat*, called by the French Nimur. The vessels coming from Algiers on their way to Gibraltar anchor here, and take in cargoes. Fifty Jewish families live here, and they have a small synagogue; their slaughterer is Rabbi Moshe Levy Askanasi, by birth a Pole, and his wife is from Oran, out

of the family of Tuwel. The Jews carry on a flourishing trade, are mostly very rich, and the greater part of them live in the European style.

Thence I returned to Tlemsan, in order to repair to Morocco. One and a half days' journey from Tlemsan is *Magnia*, where the territories of Algeria and Morocco unite. Not far from this place, on Algerian soil, is a silver mine, which is well worked, and yields abundantly.

On the whole it can be asserted without hesitation that the Jews in Algeria live in a happy condition under the French Government. In most places they have Chachamim and teachers paid by Government, and the instruction of the young is well conducted. The young are well satisfied with the French Government, but the older members with whom I spoke on the subject, fancy that since the French have taken possession of the country, religion has been on the decline, and that commercial transactions are not so profitable as when the Arabs were in power. To this I replied, quoting the words of Salomon, that „Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than an house full of sacrifices and strife,“¹ and that it was therefore better to live under the orderly civilised Government of the French, rather than under the fanaticism and oppression of the Arabs.

¹ Proverbs c. XVII. 1.

CHAPTER XLII.

V. Morocco.

In coming to Morocco from Algeria, the same feelings are experienced, only in a contrary form and in a still greater degree, as those which I described when entering Algeria from Tunis. You come from a paradise into a desert, and as soon as the soil of civilised Algeria is exchanged for Morocco, dangers of every kind begin.

From Magnia, the French frontier town, one passes through a desert to *Ushda*. The distance between these two places is about six hours' journey. To the south of Ushda are the mountains of Bene Isnaz, inhabited by robbers and bandits, who not only rob the caravans passing through the vicinity, but even oftentimes attack the town of Ushda, and plunder it. No European can form an idea of the fearfully dirty state of this town, otherwise it is large, and surrounded by gardens. About 70 to 80 families dwell here; and they have two Chachamim and a synagogue. This latter is in the most deplorable condition, which is, however, to be excused on account of the condition of affairs here; for were it in any other state, it would be plundered and destroyed by the Arabs. The Nassi of the community is Isaac Sarbeth, a very rich man, and in order to give some idea of the oppression the Jews are subject to, I will describe his dwelling. In a courtyard surrounded by a wall, stood a small dirty little house; it certainly had a door, but there were no windows to be seen from the outside. In the interior there were several apartments, but all bare and dark; not a bed, not a chair, not a piece of

household furniture was to be seen; only a mattress made of palm leaves. On my inquiring the reason for this dwelling being so poverty stricken and wretched, I was told by the possessor that he did not dare venture to arrange it better for fear of plunder. — If an Arab enters a house, the Jews must speak as humbly to him as if he were a prince. If he takes away with him anything that happens to please him, not a remark, not a murmur must be heard, otherwise the intruder would immediately draw his knife, and there is neither judge nor law for the protection of the plundered and oppressed.

Immediately on entering this country, I saw that the journey through it must and would be attended with great dangers; but as I had made up my mind to examine it, I arrayed myself in the garb of the country, joined a caravan, and made a journey of twenty-five days into the interior over *Temessuin*, *Teza*, *Fez*, *Tetuan* to *Gibraltar*, whence I returned to *Algiers*. I am unable to describe all the hardships and dangers with which this journey was attended, although I was well acquainted with the language of the country and the customs of the people. Neither Jew nor Christian can be certain of his life for a single moment. At the least offence, which the inhabitants try to provoke, a stranger is immediately taken before the authorities, fined, and maltreated, as false witnesses and evidence can be found without much trouble. And this takes place not only in affairs of religion, but in any fictitious cause they may choose to invent; they dispose just as they like, without either right or justice, of the lives and property of those of another faith.

As a proof of this, I will here relate the history of an unhappy Jewish maiden, and may it also serve as a proof that among the daughters of an oppressed and exiled people there are still women who are worthy to be placed by the side of a *Huldah* and *Deborah* in the old heroic time of our forefathers; may it likewise prove the piety of the Jews of Morocco, and be a bright example to the educated women of our people in Europe.

In Tansa, a town of Morocco, lived a Jew named Salomon Chatwil, happy and contented in the possession of an excellent wife and several blooming daughters. But the darling and pride, not only of her parents but of all who knew her, was Zuleika, who in the year 5591 (1831) the date of our history, saw spring return for the twelfth time. — Nature desired to create her masterpiece when she created Zuleika. Never had the glowing sun of Africa shone upon more perfect beauty. The most exquisite symmetry of form, the most fair and dazzling complexion contrasted with the delicate and fresh bloom of her cheek, and to these charms was added a profusion of beautiful glossy hair, — while the most lovely eyes were softened by long silken eyelashes. In addition to this, Zuleika was gifted with an intelligent mind, and the mildest and most graceful manners. All these charms excited the envy of the neighbouring Mussulmen. „It is a sin“, said they, „that such a pearl should be in the possession of the Jews, and it would be a crime to leave them such a jewel.“

With the assertion, — corroborated by false Mussulman witnesses, — that Zuleika had expressed a wish to embrace the Islam faith, they forcibly entered the peaceful dwelling of her father, took possession of the beautiful maiden, and carried her to Fez, where they placed their gift, a costly and welcome one, at the disposal of the heir-apparent of the throne, the son of the Emperor of Morocco.

Even his sated eye had never beheld such beauty; and as if dazzled, he remained standing before her. Heart and hand and all the dignity of an Empress he offered for her possession, annexing only one condition, — that she should adopt his faith. Calmly and decidedly she rejected this offer, and in vain were all the powers of persuasion and promises of the nobles of the court. Her answer was: „The whole world with all its charms and treasures is nothing compared to God and His holy law. He is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the Creator and Master of all creatures; every one, both before his birth and after his death, is subject

to His power. He delivered our forefathers from Egypt, and made us the guardians of His holy law. To this law I submit myself, and I am ready to die for its sake; and, if the Lord requires it, I willingly offer myself as a sacrifice. If ye placed all the treasures of the world at my feet, I would not swerve one hair's breadth from these my words: do with me therefore according to your will."

The prince who saw his proposals thus rejected with disdain, endeavoured to obtain by severity what had been refused to persuasion. He ordered Zuleika to be taken to a dungeon; and when it was thought that suffering and privation had sufficiently weakened her youthful strength, Jewish women, who had adopted the Islam faith, were sent to visit her, in order that by promises of every kind, and the example of their own life, they should induce Zuleika to forsake her faith. These women discharged their commission to the letter. All the pomp that could charm a sensual Oriental disposition, all the representations which a subtle heart could invent, all the terrors which were sufficient to alarm the bravest man were all displayed. — But in vain; every attempt failed to touch the firm and resigned heart of Zuleika. She answered in her usual calm and pious manner: "You wish to persuade me? Earthly life is but like a passing shadow; it is but a fleeting moment compared to eternity: rather, then, one short hour in misery and suffering and eternal bliss, than a life of joy and luxury, to which must follow endless remorse in the world to come. Every one must die, even the highest and most mighty must become food for worms. The Lord of Hosts only is eternal; willingly do I submit myself to His decree. You say that the slightest wish of my heart shall be gratified, well then, I pray to God that He may give me power and strength in His service, and that I may be worthy to be called a daughter of the Jewish people! — Let it soon be over."

One last attempt the prince would make; he summoned the Chachamim of the city, and told them that the lives of

all the Jewish inhabitants were in danger if they did not succeed in inducing Zuleika to become willing to fulfil his wishes. Trembling for their own lives and those of their brethren, the Chachamim proceeded to the dungeon. They reminded the tortured girl of the example of Esther, by whose influence her people were so much benefited; but Zuleika silenced them with the words: „Esther was not called upon to give up the sacred faith of her fathers, but I am required to forsake it. If you consider this right, well then, give your daughter to the prince; I will fulfil the law if it be God's will, with my death.“

Such an unheard of resistance to the power of the prince could only be expiated by death: the order for beheading her was therefore given. The most lovely of maidens, in the beauty of virtue and the bloom of youth, was conducted to the place of execution.

But the executioner had received orders to try also his powers of persuasion as a last resource in a manner which only an executioner could understand, and he alone could carry out. On the scaffold he gave his victim several thrusts with his sword in her neck, and called upon her to be obedient. „Kafir ben Kafir!“ (Disbeliever son of a disbeliever) cried the courageous maiden, „spare thy trouble;“ and exclaiming: „Hear oh Israel, God alone is our Lord, He alone!“ her head fell beneath the heavy blows of the executioner.

With the jet of blood that rose towards heaven vanished the rage of the prince; he felt remorse, and willingly would he have called back life into that beautiful inanimate form. Powerless might of the mighty! They are able to destroy the instrument, but when once destroyed, they never again can call its melody into life.

The body of Zuleika was given for burial to the Nassi of the community, Raphael Zerphati. — A monument was erected on the grave, which up to the present day is regarded as a sacred spot by Jews and Mussulmen; and

even now that oath is considered sacred which is sworn by the memory of Zuleika.

The prince granted an annual allowance to the parents of his victim; two of the sisters became insane from grief for the fate of Zuleika. In the year 1854 I made the acquaintance of her family, and have spoken with those who were eye witnesses of her execution. — By many African Chachamim has Zuleika's heroism and piety been made the subject of poetry, and I have the copies of some of the poems written on her tragic fate, which came under my notice.

Draw near, mothers and daughters of my people, draw near, and learn the greatness of her who dwelt here. See what was done by an ignorant, uneducated — as you would call her — African maiden, who knew nothing of the pomps and vanities of European or American culture, — who perhaps was not even able to write. Have you so educated your daughters and strengthened them in the sacred laws that they are worthy to be called Zuleika's sisters? If in the civilised world many such as Zuleika exist? — I know not; — ask and answer yourselves.

Notwithstanding these oppressions, in Morocco, Fez, Tetuan, Tansa, Suera, and in many other towns of the kingdom are to be found a great many Jews, more than 100,000 souls, and even, according to the assertion of the people of the country, not far short of 200,000 souls. They are all very religious; their Chachamim are all well versed in the Talmud, but occupy themselves much with kabbalistic matters, and even make a business out of it by copying amulets. The Arab Marabouts likewise carry on this trade. Altogether the Jews are pretty well informed, with the exception of those dwelling on a tract of land of Tifelel, on the road to Timbuctoo, where the crown prince is now reigning as Viceroy. Here the Jews are very ignorant. In many places they possess considerable places of business,

and there are many rich Jews among them; but, nevertheless, they live very unhappily. I should be guilty of repetition if I attempted to pourtray their condition; I therefore refer to my accounts relative to the Jews in Persia; for in Morocco, as in Persia, persecution, oppression, hatred, and fanaticism surround our fellow-worshippers on all sides.

But the oppression here goes even still further than in Persia; for while there the Jews are suffered to walk abroad in the costume of the country, they are here obliged to make themselves known by wearing a black fez. It is just the same with respect to the Christians; those in Persia, were allowed some privileges not accorded to the Jews, but here they are treated alike. For instance, when Jews or Christians pass a Mosque, they are compelled to take off their shoes and uncover their heads, and mischievous boys scatter pieces of broken glass in the mud of the street in order to wound their feet. If an European should venture to show himself in the street in his native attire, his life would not be safe for one hour; he would be received by a shower of stones, and the cry of „Giaur!“ It is really surprising that a country, situated so near Europe, and carrying on such large and important commercial transactions with it, should dare to be so savage and barbarous towards strangers and natives. It is only in the large harbour towns that the consuls take care that the Europeans find some protection and justice; but in the interior the oppression is all the greater.

If all the great powers of Europe together would endeavour to oppose such barbarism in the places nearest to them, they would do great things for themselves, for science, and for the oppressed.

After having remained there long enough to enable me to form some idea of the state of the country, the great difficulties induced me to return to Algeria, whence, after a short stay, I went to Marseilles in France.

CHAPTER XLIII.

General reflections respecting the Jews of North-Africa.

Their customs and habits. — Ceremonies at the observance of the Sabbath and festival days, and at births, marriages and deaths.

Most Jews go on week days, morning and evening, to the synagogues, and perform their devotions in the usual manner. On Sabbath and festival days all assemble in the temple, where divine service is solemnly performed; and it is very edifying to be present at it. It is divided into several parts, and whoever has a sweet sonorous voice reads aloud several paragraphs out of the prayer until Istabach, when the reciter goes to the altar, and reads until the Pentateuch is taken out. Piutim are only said on the first Easter evening, on New Year's day, and on the day of atonement. The chants are very fine, and make a solemn impression on the hearer. The ritual used in Asia as well as in Africa is the Portuguese, and the chants are those peculiar to the country.

The taking forth the Pentateuch is always followed by chants. At the reading of the appointed portion of the Pentateuch, it is here the custom, as well as in Asia, that the youngest of those called, if he is able to read well, reads his portion aloud. In many places it is the custom that the one who is called forward to read the Thora, when he retires from the altar, presses the hands of his relations, kisses them on the forehead, shoulder, and hand, and is congra-

tulated and honoured by the members of the community in the same manner.

When any one belonging to the community marries, two Pentateuchs are taken out in the synagogue on the Sabbath, and one of these is decorated with jewels. At the conclusion of the weekly lesson, the bridegroom is called up. He steps with his Pentateuch before the altar, and reads the history of Abraham when he sent out his servant Eleazar to seek a wife for his son Isaac.¹ When he has read a verse aloud, several children appointed for the purpose translate it into the language of the country, and repeat it with ceremonies and beautiful chants. This is considered to be a particular honour, and the children take much trouble to merit by industry such a distinction.

Even the little children wear Taleth in the synagogue during divine service; but out of the synagogue there are even grown up people who, as in Kurdistan, wear no Zizith. This is the case in Morocco, as well as in the villages of Algeria; as, in general, this custom is not strictly followed. In Africa as well as in Asia the women do not come into the synagogue; they are only present at circumcisions, but there are some old women who attend divine service on festival days. Generally in both parts of the Globe (Asia and Africa) there is very seldom a woman to be found who can read or write; this refers not only to the Jews, but to all the natives.

The Sabbaths and festival days in Africa, as well as Asia, are very strictly observed and kept sacred by the Jews, not only with respect to divine service, but likewise as to business, amusements &c. During my stay there, I scarcely ever found that business was carried on the Sabbath, or that work of any kind was done, if it was so, it must have been in a case of great necessity. In many respects, however, they are not so strict in the observance of the laws as we are in Europe; for instance, in the baking

¹ Genesis c. XXIV. 1--8.

of the Easter cake, and in the indulgence of many dishes and drinks. Thus the Jews there eat rice, peas, beans &c. and drink rum at the Passover festival.

The customs and preparations on Passover eve take place in the same way as with us in Europe; only in Africa they have the following custom, that at the first portion of the reading of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, one of the family circle gets up, and holds the dish, containing the food in remembrance of those times, over the head of each person present for some moments; and if any one is omitted on this occasion, he considers himself very unfortunate. This custom is observed particularly in Tunis, while the educated in Algeria do not know it. In Asia another good custom has been introduced at this festival. A boy is habited completely in the garb of a pilgrim. With a pilgrim's staff in his hand, and a wallet with bread on his shoulders, he enters the assembled family circle before the reading commences. The master of the house then asks the boy: „Whence dost thou come, oh Pilgrim?“ — „From Mizrajim!“ (Egypt) answers the boy. — „Art thou delivered from the bonds of slavery?“ is the next question. — The boy replies: „Yes, I am free and delivered.“ — „And where goest thou?“ is then asked. „To Jerushalajim,“ answers the pilgrim. Amid great rejoicing and friendly greeting those present then begin the Hagada. (A custom similar to this is observed in some parts of Poland.) The reading of this takes place on the first Easter night in the Hebrew language, and the second night in the language of the country: everywhere the women take part in it. Festive songs and hymns are sung, and the whole ceremony makes not only an agreeable, but likewise a very edifying and pleasing impression. From the third until the sixth day cards are much played, and in this even the Chachamim take part. During the whole of the festival no one thinks of business or work, but the days are spent in religious exercises and in amusements. On the last day of the feast, fresh stems of corn are brought from the field into the houses, scattered

with flowers and fresh green in the rooms, and placed upon the tables, as a symbol of the spring and of the blessing of the new year entering the house. — In Algeria it is the custom to go on this night to the oldest Chacham, and receive his blessing. — In Oran they have also a peculiar custom. In the night before the first eve of the festival, which is called *Lel-el-Ros*, in every family nothing else is eaten but boiled lamb's heads. I could find no other reason for this custom, but that I thought it might be in remembrance of the *Karban-Pesach*, of the offerings on the evening before the festival. In the last night of the feast called *Lel-el-Maimun*, no meat at all but only milk food is eaten, and on this evening it is the custom to go to one's acquaintances and relations to sup with them. — In Oran and Morocco, besides the flowers and stems of corn, a dish with gold and jewels is placed upon the table, as a symbol of the wealth and blessing it is hoped the new year may bring into the house. In Tetuan in Morocco a vessel full of water, in which live fish swim about, is likewise placed upon the table. The visits which are paid on this last festival night often last until past midnight. When the young people go home, one of them calls out: „Maimun!“ to which another answers: „Misoth!“ and a third „Fertsh Allah!“ — I inquired the meaning of these oft-repeated exclamations, and was told that Maimun and Misoth were the names of two happy persons: and that in remembrance of their wishing each other a similar happiness, they called out to each other their names; and the third exclamation: „Fertsh Allah!“ implied „God give happiness“.

The feast *Shewuoth* (fest of weeks) has likewise its peculiar customs. On the first evening the families assemble in their houses, and by turns one or another of them reads aloud a portion of the *Thora* &c., and during the pauses, coffee and other refreshments are handed round. In the morning, as already mentioned, they go to the synagogue to pray.

On the *Tissa-Beav* (destruction of the temple), all as-

semble in the evening in the synagogue, where the Kinoth (lamentations of Jeremiah) and other appropriate lessons are read aloud by the Chacham. After the reading is finished, the history of Chana and her seven sons, who rather than apostatize suffered themselves to be put to death, is read aloud just as it is written in the Medrash Rabba, in the language of the country. The Chacham and the community sing alternately verse by verse different funeral dirges. In Kurdistan they have another custom. The Chacham gets up and says: „My brethren, to-day it is so many years since our holy temple was destroyed, and we have not yet been able to rebuild it!“ At these words all the lights are extinguished, and all throw themselves down with their faces to the earth, and begin to lament and weep. Then one light is lighted, and with songs of lamentation the history of Chana is read aloud in the Kurdish language. In the morning all again assemble in the synagogue, and in many places the men put on their Tephilim on this occasion. (This is in opposition to the Shulchan Arooch which represents the Tephilim as unnecessary on the 9th Ab.) The customary prayers are recited, and the Kinoth are delivered; the Pentateuch is covered with black, and ashes are strewn. At the reading of the Haftora, each verse is translated into the language of the country, and commented on, at which songs of lamentation are sung.

At the feast of *Rosh-ha-Shana* (New Year's feast) all assemble in the synagogue, where prayers are said, and several Piutim are recited. The reading of the Pentateuch takes place as in Europe; only in Asia and Africa all remain quiet at the sounding of the Shofar, and listen motionless to the sounds of the symbolic trumpet. Divine service is closed in the forenoon with the Musaph-prayer.

On the Aerev-Jom-Kipur (the day before the fast of atonement) one finds in Asia and Africa the use of the Kaparoth in some places very strictly, but in other places not so strictly observed. In the afternoon of this day the vesper prayer is recited in the synagogue, and the ceremony

of the Malkot is performed as with us. In Persia this custom is observed according to the description of the Talmudist in the Messechet Sanhedrin. The person whose turn it is, bares himself to the waist, leans against one of the pillars, and receives his 39 regular hard blows with the Malka, after which he goes into the Tewilla (cold bath). When it came to my turn, I refused to comply with this custom, and said: „My brethren, I, as an European, shall not submit to these blows, for in my country, another custom is followed: I will not allow myself to be flogged before the day of atonement, as I might become ill from it.“ They laughed at me, disputed for a short time about the matter, and then left me unmolested. — In the morning and evening they go to the synagogue, when many of them put on white garments. Morning service lasts until midday, and then they go home for two hours. Afternoon service continues till near evening. This feast day is very strictly observed.

The feast of *Sukoth* (feast of tabernacles) is also very rigidly kept, and they only eat under the shade of green boughs; almost every one has Lulav (branches of palm trees), and Ethrog (fruit of Hadar). The feast is celebrated with many solemnities and amusements.

The night before the festival of *Hosheina Raba*, all assemble at home in the family circle, and read as in Europe. In Tripolis between each part, Selichot is said, and the Shofar is sounded; much coffee is drunk on the occasion. In the morning they all go to the synagogue, pray, and repeat the Hosheilot. Afterwards every one takes his Hosheina with him, and they strike each other with the Hosheina over the shoulders. Neither rank nor station is on this occasion taken into consideration; the women do it also, and each considers the blows with the Hosheina as an honour.

At the *Simchat-Thora* (joy for the law) in many places the Hakafoth is only performed once. One of the community places himself with the Pentateuch at the altar, and the as-

sembly go round him seven times to the singing of the appointed Piutim.

The *Chanoka* (remembrance of the Maccabees) and *Purim* (feast of Esther) are celebrated as in Europe.

I carefully observed the usual customs at divine service and at the ceremonies of the festivals, in order as they are quite unknown here, to be able to relate and explain them.

At the birth of a boy the following customs are observed: From the day of birth until that of circumcision, an entertainment is given each evening in the house, to which acquaintances and relations are invited. That on the first night is called *Sudot Eliahu* (repast of Elijah); that on the last night before the circumcision is called *Bilada*; and all the relations and friends assemble. The Chachamim read about two hours, after which the entertainment commences from the conclusion of which till towards morning the time is spent in reading, chanting etc. On the morning of the eighth day the circumcision takes place in the synagogue with great solemnities.

At the birth of a girl on the evening before the eighth day the Chachamim, relations and friends are invited to an entertainment. The new born child in a little cradle is presented to the first Chacham, who gives it to the second, and the second to the third, and thus it goes on until the child has passed through every hand. Three times is this ceremony repeated amid the singing of Piutim, and each time that those present receive the cradle with the child in their hands, they place in it a piece of money, and this money is intended for the midwife.

The *Barmizwa* (confirmation) is celebrated in the following manner: When a boy is thirteen years of age, some weeks previously the Chacham teaches him an address. On the Sabbath before the Barmizwa, called *Tephilim* (phylacteries), the relations are invited to an entertainment which lasts until Sunday morning. On the afternoon of this day, the women, dressed in their festive attire, go to all the friends and acquaintances, as well as to the schoolfellows

of the boy, and invite them to the entertainment. When all are assembled, a barber is sent for, who shaves the head of the boy to be confirmed, as well as the heads of his schoolfellows, and every guest at the feast contributes a piece of money, which is given to the barber. After this a merry meal takes place, which often lasts until morning. On Monday morning the synagogue is festively decorated, and the Chacham with the teacher goes to the boy's house, and adorns him in Taleth and Tephilim, and then he is taken with his schoolfellows in procession with singing and bearing of lights to the synagogue. There, during divine service, as soon as the Pentateuch is brought out, the boy is called forward with his father and some near relation; the Chacham bestows on him his blessing, the boy then delivers his address, and the father and relations bestow alms on the poor. When the ceremony is over, all present congratulate the boy, and accompany him home, where again an entertainment is prepared. The boy, still arrayed in his Taleth and Tephilim, proceeds, accompanied by his schoolfellows, to all his different female relations to make a visit and each of them undoes a fold of his Tephilim and makes him a present of a piece of money. When all the visits are paid, the boy returns home, lays aside his Taleth and Tephilim, and in the afternoon takes a walk with his companions, on which occasion all the money he has received is expended. In the evening, the relations and friends assemble again at the house of the parents of the boy to an entertainment, which lasts until the next morning, and concludes the ceremony. Girls are not confirmed, except in some towns of Algeria, where the custom is now being adopted.

At *marriages*, the following ceremonies occur. The Sabbath before the wedding is observed very solemnly. The evening before the marriage, the relations and friends and the Chachamim meet in the house of the bride. In the middle of the courtyard is placed a decorated chair, and beside it several other chairs. The Chachamim, the

parents and relations then conduct the bride, preceded by lights, to the chair, in which she seats herself. At her side are seated the Chachamim, and then in turn her parents and those of the guests who are entitled to the greatest honour. This takes place amid the singing of Piutim, and continues about two hours; after which the bride is reconducted to the house, and the company disperses. On the wedding morning the bridegroom with his friends and the bride with her companions go to the bath. In the afternoon, after the bridegroom has dressed himself in his festive attire and Taleth, he is conducted by the Chachamim and those belonging to him to the synagogue, where vesper prayer is recited, after which they conduct him home. At the marriage ceremony a high decorated chair is placed in the courtyard, to which the Chachamim and parents conduct the bride veiled. When she has seated herself in the chair, the bridegroom advances to her right side, the Chacham wraps the young couple in the Taleth of the bridegroom, and pronounces the Berachot; after which he gives the wedding rings to the bride and bridegroom. The songs of the assembled guests add to the impression made by the ceremony. The Ketuba (marriage contract) is then read aloud, and the marriage is finished. When it is concluded, the young pair are conducted to the house, the company separates to reassemble again in the evening for an entertainment. While this is going on, the young couple are conducted into a separate room and left alone. After some time the bridegroom returns to the company, and, if in all things his wife answers his expectations he receives the congratulations of the relations and assembled guests. Then at the merry meal, amid music and singing, the night is spent until break of day. The young couple remain in the parents' house for seven days after the marriage, and each evening these entertainments are repeated. On the Sabbath after the wedding the bridegroom, amid songs, and accompanied by many persons, repairs to the synagogue: the bride remains at home. All the relations are summoned,

and at the reading of the lesson for the week, they and the bridegroom bestow considerable gifts on the Chachamim and the poor. With songs, and accompanied by the same train as before, the bridegroom returns to the house of the bride, where one last grand feast is prepared, which with joy and merry making lasts until the following morning.

In Persia they have another custom. There likewise for seven days after the wedding the Chachamim, relations, and friends assemble in the bride's house. The young couple, richly dressed, are seated on a dais erected on one side of the room, and two gilded wax lights burn beside them. For some hours the guests sing Piutim, partake of a meal, and then separate; and this is repeated every day for the rest of the week.

At *funerals*, an old biblical custom is followed which is mentioned in Jeremiah c. IX. 17, 18. As soon as any one dies, the Mekononot (hired female mourners) are called, who seat themselves near the dead, and begin to chant in a mournful voice the songs of lamentation in the language of the country. The ceremonies used are those mentioned in the Talmud, Messechet Moed Kattan. The women related to the deceased utter loud wailing cries, tear their hair, and scratch their faces until the blood comes, which is expressly forbidden by Moses in Deuteronomy c. XIV. 1; and Leviticus c. XXI. 5. The Chachamim have given themselves much trouble to put away this custom, but have not yet succeeded. The songs of lamentation are regulated by the rank of the deceased, and at each funeral different songs are sung. — In Persia the Chachamim sing the songs of lamentation, but there the women neither tear their hair nor disfigure their faces. — This lasts about three hours, after which the body is buried. — In Persia the songs of lamentation only commence after the body has been prepared for interment; but in Africa these preparations are made afterwards. In proceeding to the burial ground the Chachamim walk first, singing the first twelve verses of the 91st Psalm. In the whole of Asia and Africa the body is not

clothed in the Taleth. — In Morocco it is even customary for the women and children related to the deceased to assemble often, long after the funeral has taken place, to join in songs of lamentation for the dead, and to tear their hair.¹

After having described these customs from birth to death, I conclude with the words of Solomon, who says in Ecclesiastes c. VII, 1. 2: „A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of birth. It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men, and the living will lay it to his heart.“ And fervently do I wish that the words of the Prophet Isaiah may be fulfilled which are written Isaiah XXV, 8. 9: „He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall be taken away from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it. And it shall be said in that day, ‘Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord: we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in His salvation!’“

The Portuguese conquests and discoveries with respect to the Jews.²

By Dr. M. Kayserling.

João I, Henry the Navigator, Alfonzo the African, João de Menezes, Azambuja, Vasco de Gama, Columbus, Albuquerque, Cabral, Cortez, Pizarro — what names are

¹ Rabbi Petachia, p. 169, mentions just such a custom as existing in the country of Kasria, where mothers teach their daughters the songs of lamentation. This appears to be an old custom; for even Jeremiah c. IX. 17. 18. mentions it.

² In conclusion we give the following well written article by Dr. M. Kayserling, which is to be found in Frankel's „*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*“, Decembre 1858.

these of great men! What histories and heroic deeds are associated with these adventurers and conquerors! With what rapture and delight does the boy listen to the relation of their discoveries and their battles by sea and by land. No people in Europe was animated by such a spirit of enterprise as the Portuguese; to the discoveries of their Infants and admirals they owe their power, and Portugal acquired possessions in the greatness of which the world forgot the little mother country, and she, at last, forgot herself.

Had these glorious and heroic men, had the discoveries which raised the little spot on the sea coast into a mighty power, no relation with *that* people, who now, as then, were scattered everywhere, and in those times nowhere found a home? In the long long chain which Portuguese travellers laid round the coast of Africa, the last golden ring of which remained fixed in the paradise of India, in this chain did not the Jews also form a link? Nobody has most likely ever doubted this, and yet no one has attempted to bring these events, which, apparently, are placed so far *from* the history of the Jew, into connection *with* the Jews and their history. But what advantage from such a treatment of general history arises to Jewish science, how, by such explanations, the world must clearly see that the Jews have not been created merely for suffering and endurance, but likewise everywhere and under all circumstances have proved themselves active and useful, helpful and efficient, needs no further mention.

With this object I wish in these pages to endeavour to illustrate the Portuguese discoveries and conquests with respect to the Jews.

Under João I. these discoveries and conquests had their beginning on African soil. Ceuta, the first strong city of Mauritania, which was splendid and populous, was taken, — that which had been for many years the object of the longing wishes of the Portuguese Infants, who thirsted for deeds of glory, was attained. Ceuta was the key to the lands of Islam, the terror of the Mahometans, and the point.

of outlet for further conquests on the African coast. At the storming of this town, among those with the Armada, at whose departure all Lisbon flocked to the harbour, were likewise — Jews. One of these Jewish sailors fell in action.¹

Some years later Larash (El Araish) was taken. On this occasion the Portuguese took as prisoners of war four Moors, and two Jews.²

The youthful Infant Henry, surnamed by history „the Navigator and Geographer“, assisted in person at these first African campaigns. To render himself and his native land illustrious by the discoveries of new countries, to obtain larger possessions for Portugal, to furnish new resources and advantages for trade, — was the noble aim which the enlightened navigator had set before himself. With enthusiasm, perseverance, and energy he devoted himself to astronomy; — and Jews from their experience and knowledge gave the first assistance to his undertaking. From Jews he received the first statements of the places traversed by them in the course of their commercial transactions, — places hitherto unknown to him, — and from their accounts his supposition amounted to certainty, that a communication between Europe and India could be found; and every Jewish traveller coming from a far country found the kindest reception at the observatory of this kind prince.

¹ *Chronica do Conde de Pedro*, in the *Collecção de livros Ineditos de Historia Portugueza (Lisboa 1790) I. fol. 259: Moreo hum Judeo, que era com os nossos etc.* The Jews in Portugal were thus early engaged in sea service, and the statement of Shalsholet Hakabbala that Sal. Jachia was a leader of horsemen thus gains belief; and, in fact, for no other reason has this statement been declared a „mere fable“, but only because it was related by the „Lügenkette“ (set of liars). Would any one believe Shalsholet if he, for instance, stated that under Alphonzo VII, and Alphonzo VIII of Castille Jews took part in the treaties of the Cortes, — which every one knows at the present day represented our chambers of Deputies — and even subscribed the Fueros?

² *Chronica do Conde D. Pedro* 405.

The island of Madeira with its unchanging spring, the home of the ancestor of the celebrated Belmonte, was discovered by him.¹

Storms and revolts at home withdrew for a time the Portuguese from these undertakings.

Alfonzo V lived and was active in Africa; his spirit was there when even he was in person in Portugal. He turned all his activity and the best resources of the country to Moorish Africa, and obtained for himself the surname of „the African.“

João II took greater interest in the discoveries along the west coast of Africa than in the conquests. It is certain that with the tribute money which the banished Jews from Spain were obliged to pay, he wished to continue the campaigns which his father had so gloriously led; at least, he gave this as a reason when he was reproached by some in council, that it was not pious or christian like to receive foreign Jews into the country for the sake of money and gain. From the Jews passing over the frontier enormous sums were received into the state treasury. João did not take the field, nor did his fleet sail towards the coast of Africa; but the little children torn by force from the unhappy Jews were sent to those islands which had been so recently discovered, whose only inhabitants were not human beings, but lizards and crocodiles. The crusades so artfully taken from the Jews were found after the death of João perfect and untouched in the public treasury; for his undertaking against Africa had not been carried out.

By the zeal with which João, the grasping and avaricious monarch, betook himself to the work of discovery, he made powerful preparations for his successor, who, by the discoveries in Africa, had secured for himself and Portugal undying fame. By Jews he caused investigations to be made on land, in order to find out by their clever research

¹ Compare my Sephardin: *Romantische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, 289. Leipzig 1859.

and their sharp-sighted wisdom the means of being able to steer with greater safety on the boundless element, and to find with greater certainty under an unknown sky the dark but eagerly sought for goal.¹

João sent a knight of his court, Pedro de Cavilhão, to Jerusalem, in order to make minute inquiries there relative to the Priest-King John. Cavilhão sought through Calicut, Goa, and the chief towns of India; and at last, having arrived at Sofala, was, without having obtained his object, on the point of returning to Portugal, when he learned at Cairo the arrival of two Jews from his country. These men were Joseph of Lamego,² by trade a shoemaker, and Rabbi

¹ Schäfer, History of Portugal (Hamburg 1850) III. 165.

² So called after his birthplace or probable place of residence Lamego. A word respecting the book of the oldest Cortes (*Cortes de Lamego*), which was transferred to this town, may here opportunely find its place, particularly as the mistaken opinion, founded on ignorance still exists, that the history and law-books of the Portuguese are generally silent respecting the Jews. In these Cortes §. 12 thus treats of the Jews: „*Qui non sunt de Mauris et de infidelibus Judeis, sed Portugalenses, qui liberaverint personam Regis, aut ejus pardonem (?)*) aut ejus filium, vel generum in bello, sint Nobiles.*“ For centuries the assembly was considered to have taken place, and the resolutions that were passed thereupon were naturally considered legal. The learned chancellor Antonio do Carmo Velho de Barboza, in his „*Exame critico das Cortes de Lamego*“ (Porto 1845) was the first to prove in a decisive manner that these Cortes did not exist, and that the „*Libro de Cortes*“ preserved in three different documents, was forged and interpolated, and only appeared in the 17th century, perhaps at the same time with some letters of Spanish Jews. It is an historical fact, and Barboza has forgotten to mention it, that the position of the Jews at that time in which the Cortes were held at Lamego, was not such that the passage cited against them should have been published. This passage was inserted in order that it should appear ancient; for the fabricator could not imagine that the Jews, who in his century were banished and burnt, could once have lived under a happier star in Portugal.

*) Pendo, a Portuguese word with Latin determination: *pendão*, flag or leader.

Abraham of Beja.¹ They delivered (1487) to the knight letters from his king. Joseph, who formerly had been in Bagdad, and who on his return had related to the monarch all that he had heard about Ormuz, the world renowned mart of the spices and drugs of India, had been commanded by the king, in company with the aforesaid Rabbi Abraham, to search for the wandering Cavilhão, and to deliver to him the command, that he should give Joseph a report of the success of his mission, but that he himself should travel with the Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, in order to make himself acquainted there with the conditions of India. Cavilhão rendered punctual obedience to João's orders: he travelled with the Rabbi to Ormuz, and by a ca-

¹ Barros, Mariz, Faria and others call him Abraham de Beja, Castanhed: *Morador em Beja*. Schäfer simply calls him Rabbi Abraham. l. c. III. 155.

Barros, *Asia* (Lisboa 1778) Dec. 1. Lib. 3. C. 5: *E estando pera se vir a este Reyno com recado destas cousas que tinha sabido, soube que andavam alli dous Judeos de Hespanha em sua busca, com os quaes se vio mui secretamente, a hum chamauam Rabi Habrão, natural de Beja—Castanhed: Morador em Béja—e a outro Josepe, capateiro de Lamego; o qual Josepe havia pouco tempo que viera daquellas partes; e como soube ça no Reyno o grande desejo que el Rey tinha da informação das cousas da India, foi-lho dar conta como estivera em a cidade de Babylonia, a que ora chamam Bagodad, situada no rio Eufrates, e que alli ouvira fallar do trato da Ilha chamada Ormuz, que estava na boca da mar da Persia, em a qual havia huma Cidade a mais celebre de todas aquellas partes, por a elle concorrerem todalas especiarias e riquezas da India, as quaes per cafilas de camelos vinham ter as Cidades de Aleppo e Damasco. El Rey, ao tempo que soube estas, e outras cousas deste Judeo era ja Pero de Covilhão partido, ordenou se o mandar em busca delle, e assi o outro chamado R. Habrão, o Josepe pera lhe trazer recado das cartas, que per elles mandaua a Pero de Covilhão, e Habrão pera ir com elle ver a Ilha de Ormuz e dahi se informar das cousas da India. Em as quaes cantar el Rey encommendaua muito a Pero de Covilhão que se ainda não tinha achado o Preste João, que não receasse o trabalho té se ver com elle e lhe dar sua carta e recado; e que em quanto a esto fosse, per aquello Judeo Josepe lhe escrevesse tudo o que tinha e sabido . . .*

ravan proceeding to Aleppo sent Joseph back to Portugal,¹ where, some time afterwards, he was rejoined by his travelling companion Abraham, who had been sent out with him by the king. They had returned; — but it was only to wander forth to Africa in company with other brethren of their faith banished by João.

Just as Joseph the shoemaker and Abraham the Rabbi had been by their travels useful to the king in his intention of subduing foreign countries to the rule of his sceptre, other Jews were engaged at home in mathematical researches, which being afterwards applied to later discoveries, were found to be of no inconsiderable service.

In order to lessen the danger of losing one's self far from the coast on an unknown sea, João gave commands to the most celebrated mathematicians of the kingdom, that they should consult together to find out means of being able with greater certainty to show the course the ship should keep in the open sea, and be able to find out where they were, if they should happen to be far from a known coast. After great deliberation and research, the use of the astrolabe, which until then had only been in requisition for

¹ Schäfer, l. c. III. 155, in his description suddenly ceases to mention Joseph, and lets Abraham, instead of Joseph return to Portugal with the statements. Garcia de Resende, *Chronica del Rey D. Joam II (Lisboa 1752)*, Fol. 29^b. without thinking of the Jews, concludes his account with the words: „Cavilhão . . . não ousu tornar.“ In accordance with Portuguese sources of information, Barrios likewise speaks of these Jews. In his *Historia Universal Judayco*, 7, he says: „El Rey Don Juan Segundo de Portugal por el leal advitrio de los Judios, descubrio à la India Oriental, y por esso hizo confiança de Rabi Abraham de Beja y de Joseph Zarpatero de Lamego, quando los embio por tierra à las orillas del Mar Roxo, de donde Pedro de Covillam se embarco com Rabi Abraham para Hormuz, y Joseph de Lamego torno al referido Rey con el aviso de lo que hasta entonces se havia descubierto.“ — After Barrios Basnage also, *Histoire des Juifs*, IX. 729. It is not improbable that one of the Jews named Abraham, mentioned in the course of this treatise as being near Safi or Azamor, may have been this same Abraham de Beja.

astronomical purposes, was applied to navigation; and this discovery is for the greater part, if not entirely, the work of Portuguese Jews.

With Martin Behaim, the celebrated knight and navigator from Nuremberg, sat also in consultation, together with a Moses and an Abraham, on account of his mathematical knowledge called Rabbi Abraham Estrolico¹ (the astrologer), — according to a decree given in Torres Vedras June 9th 1493, this last mentioned Rabbi was made by the king to pay 10 gold Espardims;² — likewise Joseph and Rodrigo, the Jewish physicians in ordinary to João. Joseph and Rodrigo, who were likewise engaged in the making of the terrestrial globe for the aforesaid Pedro de Cavilhão,³ have acquired importance in the history of Portuguese discoveries. Who knows but for the dissuasion of Joseph, if the Genoese discoverer of the new world would not have prevailed upon the king — who found in the words of the noble Columbus „more pride and conceit, than truth and certainty“ — to have credited his assertions, and to have granted him a few ships in order to attempt the discovery

¹ Many of our readers may, at the mention of this Abraham Estrolico, be reminded of R. Abraham Zacuto, the author of „Juchasin“, and the well known astrologer of Manuel; of him we will speak another time. But as we are not quite sure if Zacuto who certainly was already in Portugal in 1493, was likewise in the service of João, I feel no hesitation in considering this Abraham as a different person from Zacuto. In fact, from the 70th year of the 15th century, very many learned Jews bearing only the name of Abraham, have appeared in the course of the Portuguese history. An Abram Judai *fisyquo e peliquem* (a furrior?) lived in Elvas and was appointed by Alfonso V, July 27th 1475 to be Rabbi of his community. Another is mentioned in 1482 as an inhabitant of Braganza. A third in 1484 as Rabbi in Lisbon; and a fourth as a physician in Braganza, Aveiro, and Setubal.

² *Torre do Tombo, Corp. Chronic. Pars 1. Mac. 2. Doc. 18* in the *Memor. d. litteratur. Portugueza (Lisboa 1812) VIII, 166, d. Espardim* is a gold coin of the value of 300 reis.

³ Mariz, Dial. IV. Cap X. p. 315.

of his island? But João referred him, as Barros¹ relates, to the Bishop of Ceuta, and to his learned men Joseph and Rodrigo, to whom he left it to investigate such-like cosmographic discoveries. Joseph and Rodrigo considered the request of Columbus as foolish, and were of opinion that it was all founded upon his discontent respecting the island Cipango of Marco Polo. The navigator was dismissed with a refusal, and — the neighbouring country reaped the fruit of his great discoveries.

The application of the astrolabe to the purposes of navigation is the work of the Jews.² How important this invention became for all later discoveries it is not in our power to judge. It lessened the difficulties, and facilitated the trade of the Portuguese with the African tribes: Navigation thereby made rapid and powerful progress, and — not João, but Joseph and Rodrigo have obtained for themselves for ever a place of honour in history, and science always remembers them with respect, although the king rewarded them with ingratitude, and banished them from the country together with their brethren in the faith.

¹ Barros, *Asia*, Dec. 1. L. 3. C. 11: *Com ludo a força de suas importunações, mandou que estivesse com D. Diego Ortiz, Bispo pi Ceuta e com maestre Rodrigo e maestre Joseph, a quem elle commetia estas cousas da Cosmografia e seus descubrimentos, e todos nouveram por vaidade as palavras de christovão Colom por todo ser fundado em imaginações e cousas de Ilha Cypango de Marco Paulo...* Likewise compare Murr diplomatic history of the Portuguese knight Martin Behaim (Nuremberg 1778) 61 ff. D. Pedro de Meneses, count of Villa - Real, likewise advised the king „not to listen to the dreams of Columbus“, and appealed at the same time to Joseph and Rodrigo.

² Barros, *l. c.* Dec. 1. L. 4. Cap. 2. Telles. Sylvius, *De Rebus gestis Joannis II.* (Hagae 1712), 99: *Ut minore cum errandi periculo ignotum mare navigare posset, Roderico et Josepho, medicis suis, nec non Martino Bohemo, ea aetate peritissimis mathematicis, iniunxit Joannes II. etc. Matthaei, De insulis novi orbis* (Francof. 1590), 80: *...praeclaro sano invento ad usum rei maritimae opera peritissimorum mathematicorum Rotheri et Josephi etc. Maffei, Hist. Indicar.* (Venet.) 51.

In the days of Manuel the Portuguese nation endeavoured to elevate itself, and the enthusiasm for voyages and discoveries seized most powerfully on the most energetic, active, and enterprising men. Vasco de Gama set sail, Diaz joined him, Meneses fought victoriously in Africa, Manuel wished to lead in person an army against the Moors, and the old Azambuja, that subtle limping old man, reaped on Moorish soil the most glorious triumphs of victory.

His triumphs and conquests we will now follow; and will next proceed with him to the ancient coasting town of Safi.

This town, which is called by the Moors Azafi, and, according to the accounts of Arabian writers, was built by the natives in times of remote antiquity, consisted at the time when Azambuja approached it of many scattered villages and hamlets, and had more than 4000 dwellings, of which 400 were inhabited by Jews.¹ Through the Jewish population, Safi had become an important place of trade, and Christian, as well as Moorish merchants, imported by land and by water the most different productions and goods: gold and silver, honey, wax, butter and skins. The Portuguese took advantage of disputes in the family of the Regent of Morocco, and with the assistance of the Jews succeeded in obtaining the family into their power.

Accompanied by only a few persons, Azambuja proceeded to Safi. Scarcely had he entered the place, when he was informed by a Jew living there, a certain Rabbi Abraham, who served him as interpreter,² that some of the in-

¹ *Damião de Goes, Chronica do Rei D. Manuel (Lisboa 1749), Fol. 186: allem de quatro centas casas que nella avia de Judeus. Leo Africanus, De totius Africae descriptione (Tiguri 1559), 120 believes: „Azaphi . . . quamplurimos olim habuit Judaeos, qui et varias exercebant artes.“*

² *Dam. de Goes, l. c. 187: porque soube per via do hum Judeu, per nome Rabi Abrahão que era sua lingoa que alguns dos dadidade andauam pera o matar, o que de feito era verdade &c. Likewise Osorius, De rebus Emmanuelis (Coloniae 1597), 138 b: Ibi vero cum indicio Abrahami Judaei cognovisset &c. Ribeiro dos Santos may also*

habitants of the town were conspiring against the life of him, who had come as a mediator among them. This assertion of the Rabbi was confirmed by others, so that the general in the moment of danger thought it expedient to return for the present to Castello-Real, from whence he came. On the 6th August 1507, supplied with new instructions from his king he again entered Safi, accompanied by Garcia de Melo, who had been appointed to assist him. But now none of the contending parties would enter into any negotiation with Azambuja. Azambuja reflected on the means of subduing the town to the rule of the Portuguese sceptre, and devised one as ignoble as it was efficacious:— he sowed dissension, as the chronicler expresses himself, between the two chiefs of the parties who were waging war against each other, excited mutual distrust, and thus, by artifice, took possession of the town.

Garcia de Melo, Azambuja's companion and attendant, lay ill in bed; a Jewish doctor, who had access to both the contending chiefs, was summoned from the town to attend him. The Portuguese generals sought to win him over to their purpose, and the Jew allowed himself to be used as a mediator. They induced him to deliver letters to each of the two leaders, but in such manner that the one should know nothing of the letter of the other. Both were informed that their lives were in danger from their opponents; both were advised to entrust themselves to the Portuguese generals; and to each was the assurance given, that he, as a vassal of Manuel, should govern in conjunction with the governor named by the king. No one but those persons engaged in this serious game knew of this strategetic artifice. As often as the doctor visited the still suffering de Melo, he placed his hand under the coverlet of the bed as if to feel the pulse of his patient; but, in reality, instead of the pulse,

have had in his mind the Abraham in question when he wrote *Memor. d. litt. Portugueza*, VIII. 223: „*Outro Abraham feito Rabi dos Judeos de Cafim.*“

he took hold of the letters written by de Melo in the interim, and then retired as quickly as possible. This stratagem succeeded; each of the leaders fell into the snare which had been prepared for him, and — Safi fell.¹

This manner of conquering towns and gaining countries does not stand alone in history; in many wars similar cases occur, and Portuguese and French, German and English have no scruples of conscience in opening a way in wartime by cunning artifice, and in making use of artifice and violence for military science and military law. Yet but few examples can be given where Jews, who are always and everywhere the most faithful subjects of their ruler, have been induced to side with the enemy. The Jewish doctor had the welfare of his fellow-citizens and of his brethren in view; he wished to free the town from tyrants, and hoped that the Portuguese would take off the yoke which pressed heavily on all the inhabitants. Did he see his hopes fulfilled? History is silent on this point; and yet we believe ourselves justified in supposing that he did.

As long as Safi stood under Portuguese rule, the Jews of this town had equal rights and paid the same taxes as the other inhabitants.

Safi continued to be for a long time the seat of war. The more important it was for the Portuguese to possess this rich commercial² town, on account of its large trade, from which the Jews as well as the Christians and Moors derived very rich profits, the more often did the Moors make the attempt to wrest it from them. After its capture, the aged Azambuja was appointed sole Governor; but he did not succeed in keeping the rebellious Moors in subjection. In 1511 the whole province of Duccala, the capital of which is the often mentioned Safi, rose up against the foreign con-

¹ *Dam. de Goes l. c. 188, Osorius l. c. 139 a.*

² *Dam. de Goes l. c. 291: grando trato de mercadorias que nella auia, de que assi os Christiãos como os mouros e Judeus fazião muitos e mui grossos ganhos.*

querors; an army of 5000 cavalry and 600,000 men on foot stood ready for combat. In hurried marches the Portuguese general, the clever Atayde advanced against Safi. He had the gates shut up, and gave most positive commands to the sentinels not to allow any human being, whether Moor, Jew, or Christian to depart without especial permission.¹ In a short time Atayde suppressed the revolt, subdued the whole province, and levied a tribute on all the goods imported by the inhabitants whether Moor, Jew, or Christian.

When the inhabitants of Morocco, twenty-eight years later, again took to arms, and wished to shake off the yoke of the stranger, it was a Jewish general who assisted the Portuguese. In the year 1539 the Xarife of Morocco with an army of 100,000 men appeared before Safi; on which occasion one of the Jews, who had been banished from Spain, and had wandered to Fez, gave a brilliant example of Jewish fidelity and Jewish bravery. Samuel Valenciano (Al-Valenci) is the name of this Jewish general. This hero, who on his arrival in Fez² had won for himself the love and respect of the reigning monarch of the family of Merines, had before this time, at Ceuta, made his name feared. Later, the Xarifes rose against the Merines, and drove them out of the kingdom. The Princes were deposed, and placed themselves under Portuguese protection. The noble Samuel risked his life and his fortune for the family of the rightful prince; he united with other Alcades who had remained faithful to the Merines, fitted up some ships, placed himself at the head of the undertaking, and sailed away to the place where the rebels had caused the Portuguese much damage. Al-Valenci arrived with his ships before Ceuta. He quickly landed his people, waited in the night for a favourable opportunity, and with his little band, for he had not more than 400 men, rushed upon the hostile

¹ *Goes l. c. 290: E defender aos porteiros e guardas que Mouro, nem Judeu, nem Christião deixassem sair fora sem seu mandado.*

² Samuel is said to have settled later in Azamor.

army, which numbered more than 30,000 warriors. He cut down more than 5000 without losing a single man. Ceuta was struck with terror, and before the morning dawned the Xarife withdrew to Fez.¹ With similar bravery, with marvellous courage, and rare skill Al-Valenci forced the enemy encamped before Safi to give way, and raised the siege.² Azamor is stated to be the later place of residence of this brave Jewish hero; and to Azamor we will follow the Portuguese conquerors. Azamor, but a few miles distant from Fez, was next to Safi, the chief town of the province of Duccala. Long before the taking of Safi, by the Portuguese, King Manuel, in order to continue the friendship and peace which João had established with the Moors of Azamor, kept some trustworthy Portuguese in this town. At their instigation, and with the assistance of the Jewish

¹ *Tambien merea ser celebrada la fidelidad y valor do un noble Israelita, llamado Semuel Alualensi, de los desterrados de España: el qual auiendo passado à Africa fue fauorecido y muy muz amado del Rey de Fez, que en aquel tiempo era de la familia de los Merines. Succedio que los Xarifes se lleuantaron contra los Merines, y los mataron y despojaron del Reyne. Fue tan grande el dolor del grato y fiel, Semuel Alualensi, que poniendo su vida, hazienda, y todas sus cosas à manifeste peligro, se junto con otros Alcaydes criados de los Merines, y armaron algunos nauios, tomando por Capitan al valeroso Alualensi, para hir contra los Xarifes, que estauan en aquel tiempo sobre la fortaleza de Cepta, y tenian muy afligidos à los Portuguezes vasallos del Rey D. Manuel que la defendian. Llegaron entonces los nauios de nuestro Alualensi al puerto de Cepta, y auiendo desembarcado la gente en tierra, espero tiempo oportuno de la noche, y con quatocientos Nombres deo sobre el ezercito del Xarife, que eran mas de treynta mil, y mataron mas de cinco mil dellos, sin perder uno solo de los suyos. Luego al otro dia als(z)o el Xarifo el cerco y se retiro a Fez. Aboab, Nomologia (Amsterdam 1629) 305 f.*

² *El Tirano Xarife de Marruecos cerco à la ciudad de Safi en el anno de 1539 con cien mil hombres y el valiente Samuel Valenciano Judio de Azamor, y Almirante de guerreros Vergantines, que gormo à su costa, socorria à los cercados Portuguezes, y con admirable industria, y audicia desbarato à los Mahometanos y descerco a la Ciudad. Barrios, Historia Universal Judayca, 8 f.*

Rabbi there, Rabbi Abraham, in 1512,¹ the inhabitants of Azamor, by letters and treaties, and with the consent of their chief, Mulei Zeyan, submitted themselves to the King of Portugal. Mulei Zeyan, who ruled with the greatest cruelty, had several times violated the contracts with Portugal, and Manuel, therefore, determined in 1513 to conquer Azamor. For this purpose he equipped a fleet of more than 400 ships, and gave the chief command to his nephew D. Jaime, Duke of Braganza. João de Menezes with several of his sons, and many valorous nobles and gentlemen, joined the great expedition.

On the 23rd of August D. Jaime set sail, and in a few days afterwards came within sight of Azamor. This town was not inferior to Safi in size and importance; it carried on a great trade, and had more than 5000 dwellings, 400 of which were inhabited by Jews.²

With a considerable military force, Mulei Zeyan, accompanied by his two sons, advanced against the Portuguese; he himself commanded in person. D. Jaime gave the necessary orders to the fleet, disembarked the guns, and in marching order advanced with the whole army against the Moors, who stood prepared in battle array. The struggle began. The Moorish warriors defended themselves with the courage of lions. Suddenly a loud lamentation and wailing arose in the town; their brave commander, who not only with his powerful voice, but with the most energetic actions, had inspired his people to battle, the valiant Cide Mansus, had been struck to the earth by a bomb shell. With him

¹ *Dam. de Goes l. c. 367: Muito antes da tomada de Çafim por el Rey D. Manuel continuar nas pazes e amiza de etc.* (Compare likewise Schäfer l. c. III, 118, who, like ourselves, translates Goes). . . *per medo dos quaes (cavalleiros) o de hum Rabi mor dos Judeos, per nome Rabi Abraham* (why Schäfer does not mention the Rabbi, we do not know) &c.

² *Dam. de Goes l. c. 370: em que aueria mais de cinco mil fogos, sem os dos Judeus, que serão quatrocentos*, therefore not five hundred, as Schäfer l. c. III, 120 asserts.

all their courage disappeared. They rushed from the town, and in such haste, that more than 80 persons were pressed to death at the gates.

Before the morning dawned was heard from the walls of Azamor, which was sunk in deathlike stillness, a voice exclaiming: „Diego Berio! Diego Berio!“ — This cry was addressed to the bravest man of the Portuguese fleet. It was the voice of a friend, of an old acquaintance from his home; it was the cry of the Jew Jacob Adibe, who had been banished from his country. Without delay, Jacob wished to be conducted to the Duke. Diego Berio accompanied his friend. „The city is free!“ With these words Jacob fell on his face to the earth. „Azamor is vacated, oh Duke! Azamor is free! I beg for my life, and for the lives of my brethren and fellow-worshippers.“ D. Jaime raised the suppliant Jew, and promised him protection and support. He then himself sank down, and thanked God for his mercy in allowing him to take this great and noble city, without the loss of those who had come forth with him. Jacob Adibe had received the Duke's promise, and joyfully returned to his own people. The cry of victory rose in the camp of the Portuguese; with flying colours the conquerors entered Azamor, and soon did Portuguese banners wave from the gilded domes of the numerous mosques. Armed troops were placed for the protection of the Jews,¹ and

¹ *Damião de Goes, l. c. 372: Despyada assi a cidade, sendo ainda noite, hum Judeu de naçam Portuguez, per nome Jacob Adibe, dos que se foram deste regno, que ahi era morador, chamou derriba do muro Diego Berrio ete O Duque fez aleuantar o Judeu e ao Judeo concedeo o que lhe pedio ete . . Entrassem na cidade e com elle o corregedor pera defender os Judeus que os nam roubassem* Osorius, l. c. 254 b: *Antiquam diluisceret Judaeus quidam, nomine Jacobus Adibius, natione Lusitanus, qui cum reliquis Judaeis in exilium pulsus fuerat, e muris Jacobum (must be Diegum) Berrium etc.* Barrios likewise mentions Jacob Adibe (*Historia Universal Judayca* 13): *Jacob Adibi, en Azamor ciudad de Africa dio las alegres nuevas de como la havian desamparado sus temenosos Moradores a Don Jaime Duque de Bragança, sobrino del Rey D. Manuel.*

while the first grand mass was being celebrated in the Moorish town, the Jews with their property wandered forth to Sale and to Fez, in order that they might no longer live with people who, as the Moorish Christian Johannes believes,¹ had drawn upon themselves the loss of freedom by the most dreadful crime. The taking of Azamor was followed in the next year by the conquest of Fednest, in which the Portuguese found 1600 houses, of which 100 belonged to the Jews.² There they lived as artists, free from all taxes. They only sometimes sent presents to the nobles in order to gain their favour.

Manuel's name in Barbary was soon so feared and honoured, that many Moors, tired of the tyranny of their Masters, became subject to the King of their own free will. Manuel the Happy died. Under João III. the might of the Kingdom diminished; the inquisition was introduced — the possessions in Africa were again lost.

The Portuguese were driven for Barbary; Jews dwell there up to the present day. Their condition at that time we will discuss on another occasion. To Malabar and its coasts we will next proceed with the Portuguese discoverers; but for the present conclude with the words of a favorite German poet of the day:

*Die ganze Welt ist wie ein Buch,
Darin uns aufgeschrieben
In bunten Zeilen manch ein Spruch,
Wie Gott uns treu geblieben.*

(The whole world is like a book. In it many a lesson may be found which in glowing colors teaches us how God has remained true to us.)

¹ *Leo Africanus* l. c. 129: *Judaei vero partim Salae et partim Fessae adierunt regionem. Nec puto aliam ab causam id illis a Deo Opt. Max. fuisse illatum, quam propter horrendum illud Sodomitarum crimen, cui civium pars maxima tam fuit addicta, ut juvenem vix non corruptum a se dimitterent.*

² *Dam. de Goes* l. c. 275 corresponding with *Leo Africanus* l. c. 70.

Conclusion.

With my return to Europe (April 1855) I have to finish the history of my travels. The colours of the picture I have brought before the eyes of my honoured reader may often have been glaring, and gloomy indeed may frequently have appeared to him the conditions with which my book has made him acquainted; — but I have the consciousness of having given my statements according to my own inmost sincere conviction. If perchance I have erred, and everyone is liable to error, it has been unwittingly; *intentionally* I have misrepresented nothing. In the creature I have ever acknowledged the brother, and have always recognised in him the image of God, as great as may have been the state of degeneracy in which I have often found him. No preconceived opinion, either good or bad, has had any weight or influence in the judgment I have formed of all I have seen and heard.

If here and there I have described the mental condition of my people, the Jews, as of a very low grade, is it necessary for me to give the assurance that my heart was not filled with the less affection for them? Is it necessary for me to give the assurance that I only spoke that which was true, and that in every Jewish soul I recognised a true brother, the son of our father Abraham, the joint-heir to the great sacred treasure, the Thora, which God has confided to the people of Israel, and therefore to each one born of a Jewish mother?

May it be permitted to the traveller, who from far distant countries has returned to the land of his birth — that land, which was the home of his children, whilst their father was seeking his way through deserts and over barren mountains, — may it be permitted to the traveller who is nearly prepared to start again for a long and farther journey likewise to call the attention of his European brethren to a subject connected with their own interests. I address

myself first to my brethren in Poland, Russia, and Moldavia. Not one of them can uphold with greater enthusiasm than I do that heavenly treasure, our sacred law, as the sole, highest, and most invaluable gift which truly has the power of establishing and insuring salvation and peace on Earth. No one can lay to heart with deeper and truer conviction than I do that precept: „Day and night thou shalt apply thy heart unto wisdom“, — or understand more fully the importance of the law, or adhere to it more entirely with heart and soul.

But just for this very law's sake, we dare not close our ears to general knowledge. „Jofe thalmud thora im derech erez,“ — knowledge of the law must go hand in hand with general knowledge, as our wise men teach us not in vain; let them then *be* our teachers. Let us follow their precepts; we find there is no field of knowledge in which they were not at home, how could it be otherwise? The Thora is no mystery, no priestcraft; it contains the decree of the Almighty loving Father and King of the universe; can there then be a corner in this universe where God's law could receive such injury, that His word should not penetrate thereinto? And now less than ever, when everywhere, and even in the countries I have mentioned, the dark spirit of prejudice is yielding, and the Jew, in a more independent position, enters the ranks of those of other creeds — now, when the power of custom can no longer rule so powerfully, and when door and gate are more open than formerly to temptation, ought we to leave the rising generation ignorant of the knowledge which the mind of man has acquired, and expose our children without protection to the voice of false wisdom and education? Ought we not more carefully than ever to furnish them with all and every instruction and refinement, and show them what is godlike and pure therein, and what is error and the result of man's presumption?

„Jofe thalmud thora im derech erez.“ Thora and education, such must be in this age the inscription on our standards; then will our children be faithful under the ban-

ner of their holy faith, just as they remained firm when Grecian refinement and learning had the mastery.

How have I come to address this old precept to my brethren, and how have I been induced to do so? — It is because I am a child of those parts where this important precept has been overlooked, and I have felt and do still feel painfully — I avow it openly — the great deficiency which this want has occasioned. I look round in Germany and France; here likewise, where truth and justice were in advance more than half a century, this precept was forgotten, and it was foolishly believed that one could shut one's self up, as it were, against the progress of European enlightenment. — What was the consequence? It was that every one who strove after education was compelled to consider himself as not belonging to the community of Israel; and if in latter days the Lord had not opened the eyes of the faithful Jews, one must have said of these countries, the law was completely forgotten.

But where this principle is cherished, knowledge of the law, adherence to the law, and education grow together in beautiful development out of one soil, and the rising generation remain steadfast to the faith of their fathers, without being inferior to others in mental culture.

May thus our Russian, Polish, and Moldavian brethren learn from Germany and France how much evil the neglect of the above precept is calculated to produce, and what glorious fruits spring from its observance! With this wish I take my leave of the Reader.

CHAPTER XLIV.

After having published in 1856 the French edition of my book of travels, I applied to the learned men and Orientalists of France and Germany to give me for the furtherance of the cause of science, some instructions and hints for my guidance in my intended second journey, as, on my first journey, the want of such directions was much felt. In consequence of this request, I received the following memoranda, which I here note down, as perhaps they may prove useful to some other travellers, and in order that, in case of my losing the memoranda themselves, I may not be entirely deprived of their benefit.

A. General questions and propositions from Dr. Munk in Paris.

September 14th 1856.

1. General.

a. To procure a complete written calender used by a tribe, and made by them, or, at least, an exact copy of one, or a full account respecting it in which it is clearly stated whether they reckon according to solar or lunar months, and whether the lunar years are regulated astronomically, or according to the changes of the moon.

b. The specification of an era from which the general calculation of time began.

c. Information concerning festival days, their signification and names.

d. Information respecting prayers; if possible, to procure a book of prayer, or at least some authentic copy of

it. A translation of the same, particularly into Arabic. Minute investigation of the writing, and the comparison of it with Phoenician, Samaritan, and ancient and modern Hebrew characters. Inquiry whether traces of the Hebrew language appear in their prayers; for instance, how the name of God is pronounced. Accounts respecting the belief in angels, how they are described; respecting the immortality of the soul; respecting their burial grounds, and the making exact copies of epitaphs.

e. Accounts of other written religious books; to procure the originals, or authentic copies, or translations of the same.

f. Report of any existing knowledge of Biblical writings, whether perfect, abridged, or fragmentary. With respect to this to seek especially for manuscripts, or portions of them.

g. Report respecting customs and habits. Search after written laws, and at what time, and by whom the same were given? If possible, the most detailed information respecting the laws of food and purification; at the same time are to be kept particularly in mind the names of animals and plants mentioned in the Pentateuch, as well as the precepts of Holy Writ to the Nidda.

h. Report respecting marriage laws and customs; if polygamy is customary, if Chaliza¹ and contracts of marriage are introduced. If possible, to procure original letters of divorce, or true copies of them.

2. Special.

a. The Bene-Israel. Minute investigation respecting their descent; if they are primitive Jews, or only converted heathen, as, for instance, the Hagarites were.— Have they,

¹ Chaliza is the ceremony to be performed in following manner. If a woman lose her husband and have no issue by him, the brother of the deceased must according to the laws of Moses marry the widow. Should he however be unwilling to do so, she unties the sleeve he wears and spits before his face. He may then marry.

besides the known and already mentioned Malabaric Chronicle, other historical writings, of which exact copies may be made? — Detailed information respecting their history &c.

b. The Jews of China. The most detailed possible account.

c. The Jews of Afghanistan. General information; particularly respecting the language for prayer, and the language of the country, their customs &c.

d. The Jews of Persia. General report. To search for manuscripts in Hebrew characters, and for a Persian translation of the Bible. (Those manuscripts found in Paris were written in Lar in the beginning of the 17th century; one is dated from *Dogrun di al jama raba mothuya*.)

e. The Jews of Kurdistan. General report particularly respecting the language used for prayer; — and if there are no writings in existence respecting the translation of the Bible into the language of the country; respecting marriage contracts, and letters of divorce.

f. The Jews of Arabia. General report, particularly respecting Arabic manuscripts in Hebrew characters, — to procure some; especially manuscripts in Yemen, commentaries on the Bible by Rabbi Tarchum of Jerusalem; Kutiath on the Bible. — Detailed report relative to the Bible in Diabekr, which, according to the Jews there, was written by the hand of Ezra, and is mentioned by the traveller in his work: „*Cinq années de voyage en Orient*“; also respecting the Pentateuch at Kefil, ascribed to the hand of Ezekiel, and likewise mentioned by the traveller in the same work.

B. Suggestions of M^r. Goldberg in Paris.

July 20th 1856.

a. To undertake a comparison between the names of towns and places in ancient Mesopotamia and Assyria, and to note down these names in Hebrew and Arabic with the greatest accuracy.

b. To search for authentic writings, perfect, as well as fragmentary. They are divided into three classes:

- 1) *Biblical.* Pentateuchs and ancient Bibles, complete text; some apocryphal books, which existed at the time of the Talmudists: such as Ben Sira, Ben Togh-lath, Ben Lanath; and perhaps others that are yet unknown, such as some fragments from the writings of Joseph the historian which may perhaps be found in the Targums.
- 2) *Talmudic.* All Talmudic writings, because there may be among them some still unknown to us; as, for instance, the Talmud Jerushalmi of Seder Kadashim, which was in existence in the time of Maimonides; or the Tosiphta of Bar-Karpara, the fables of the Rabbi Meïr &c.
- 3) *Geonic* in the Chaldaic and Arabic writing; this class is very numerous; for instance, the celebrated R. Sharira, his son R. Hai, R. Samuel ben Haphni, R. Hephetz ben Jatzlia &c. Perhaps also writings of the opposers of the Talmudists, i. e. of the Karaites, and opposers of the Bible; for instance, Hevy al Balhi, Ben Sakoni, who lived at the time of Sadiah Hagaone.

c. Observation and investigation of natural productions and implements; and minute information respecting their names. Searches after inscriptions, which date perhaps from the most remote periods, and copies of the same.

C. Remark of Dr. Derenbourg in Paris.

September 16th 1856.

It would be desirable that the traveller should take accurate copies of the Hingaritic inscriptions of which there are many in Zana (Osel of the Bible), and in the vicinity; partly to check those, given by Arnaud, and partly to increase and complete the same.

D. Observation of Mr. Landau in Paris.September 21th 1856.

Question. If any decided assertion exists in the traditions of the people relative to the time of the coming of the Messiah? — and upon what this assertion is founded? Can it possibly be traced back to the Thora?¹

E. Remarks of Dr. Jost in Frankfurt on the Maine.

a. Investigations respecting the most ancient Geonim, and their writings.

b. Respecting their position in the Caliphat, particularly relative to the Roshe Galuth.

c. Respecting the most ancient Karaites: Joseph ben Noha, Nissim ben Noha, (Hawandi) Benjamin, Joshejaha, Anan, Levy, Japheth, likewise respecting Japhet ben Said, Joseph hamaor, Jacob harkasni.

d. Respecting the dwelling places, and the number of families of the Karaites.

e. Respecting exact manuscripts of the same, particularly those in Arabic.

f. Respecting the sect of the Shabathai Zeby, their customs, divine service, and writings.

F. Remarks of Mr. Geiger in Breslau.June 22nd 1858.

Among ancient printed works there are many which have become disfigured by later additions; the finding of ancient manuscripts would possibly enable us to restore the original text. Among these I include especially the „Targum Jerushalmi“, likewise printed under the name of „Jo-

¹ No, there is not the slightest mention made in the Thora of Messiah; but there is in the prophets.

nathan“; the „Mechiltha“, the „Sifre“ (on the last two books of the Thora). By obtaining such manuscripts, Mr. Benjamin would greatly benefit the cause of science.

About 300 years since the *Arabic commentary* of Saadiah on the *Pentateuch* was in existence; it might still be found either in Egypt or Persia.

G. Remarks of Dr. C. J. Magnus in Breslau.

June 16th 1858.

1) From the great importance of the *Chaldaic language and literature* for the proper understanding of certain parts of the Assyrian and ancient Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, every contribution to our knowledge on these points must be of the greatest interest.

a. If therefore the supposition of Mr. Benjamin is correct, that in the mountains of Kurdistan, even at the present day, Chaldaic (not perhaps the modern Assyrian, — compare Rödiger in the „*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*“, Vol. 2, p. 77 ff.) is spoken by the Jews dwelling there, it would be desirable that Mr. Benjamin — for want of written books — should have written down by a Jewish learned man a series of literary tradition as accurately as possible; — such as legends, tales, songs &c.; but under all circumstances with the addition of a vocal accentuation, either Hebrew, Assyrian, or Arabic.

b. For the same reason Mr. Benjamin had better search for good ancient (especially accentuated) manuscripts of the different Targums; — the Jerushalmi Targum on the *Pentateuch* not to be forgotten.

2) And not less desirable would it be if Mr. Benjamin would turn his attention to *Samaritan literature*, and would take especial trouble to obtain some good manuscripts, not only of the Hebrew *Pentateuch* in use among the Samaritans written in Samaritan characters, but the Samaritan para-

phrase of the same, and other literary works of this people written in the Arabic (or Samaritan?) language, whether exegetical, historical or grammatical.

3) Good manuscript texts, Biblical versions of *Madinchai* and *Maarbai*, and of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, as well as simple and plainly-written Masores either in Bible manuscripts or as independent works, especially the book „Ochla Weoohla“, would likewise merit the attention of the traveller.

H. Remarks of Mr. Stenzler in Breslau.

Juni 22nd 1858.

For the more accurate knowledge of the Persian language it were important to have particulars of the different dialects spoken in the different provinces. In order to become perfectly acquainted with the pronunciation, which can but inadequately be acquired from a grammar, I should propose that a rather long Persian text should be chosen, and its pronunciation in the different provinces, according to the various dialects, should be carefully written down in Latin characters.

I. Remarks of Mr. Schmölders.

1) In Jerusalem at the Haram are to be found two large and two small mosques. The one standing in the middle of the space is the celebrated *Omar-Mosque*, which is likewise called the *Rock-Cathedral*. The other large mosque stands in the southern part, and was formerly a Christian church built by Justinian. The two other small mosques join it, and it is a splendid building, and contains seven naves. In the descriptions given by Christian travellers it is often called the *Aksâ*, while some Arabic authors call the *Omar-Mosque Aksâ*. It would be desirable to ascertain if possible *which* of the two mosques is the *Aksâ*.

2) W. J. Hamilton has given us some accounts respecting the ruins of the former town of Ani (on the Turkish-Russian-Persian boundary, 5 geographical miles east of Kars), which are of the greatest importance to science. Hamilton's statements make a more accurate knowledge of these magnificent ruins, the more desirable. Modern travellers do not appear to have visited these ruins at all: therefore a description, as accurate as possible, of these monuments, would be of the greatest value to history as well as art.

3) Layard has drawn attention to the Jezidis dwelling in the vicinity of Mosul. Their peculiar religious opinions and extraordinary worship appear to denote remote heathen antiquity. It would therefore be most interesting, if other travellers would bestow some attention on the religion, doctrines, and traditions of the Jezidis.

4) D'Herbelot in the „*Bibliothèque Orientale*“ has a notice respecting the book „*Gafr*“, a work of repute among the Shiite heretics, which would be of great importance in the history of the religion of Islam. Could not (particularly in Kurdistan) more accurate knowledge respecting it, or even the book itself be obtained?

K. Remarks of Mr. R. Gosche.

„*Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*“, p. 149: We wish from ethnographical considerations, that the traveller would not mind taking the additional trouble of collecting in Luristan among the Tadshicks and in the Persian-Indian frontier countries something belonging to the language, whether songs or little phrases. To Luristan we should wish especially to invite his attention; as also to recommend to the warmest sympathy of geographers, and geographical societies the whole enterprise of his journey.

After having received while in France the above instructions, I proceeded to Holland, and first of all to Rotter-

dam. There I became acquainted with a rich merchant and the superintendent of the community *L. L. Jacobsohn*, who, with the concurrence of other influential men proposed to me that I should undertake a journey to the East-Indies in the Netherlands (Java), in order to establish there a Jewish community; for although a considerable number of our brethren live there, no such community is as yet in existence. Although the journey was not too far for me, still the expenses attending it were considerable; so I laid the matter before the Chief-Rabbis of Rotterdam and the Hague, who then, in the following petition, stated the case to the Jewish Court of Commissioners.

The undersigned Chief-Rabbis of the Israelitish chief synagogues at Rotterdam and the Hague have the honour, in consequence of a request addressed to them by Mr. Israel Joseph Benjamin II, relative to the continuation of his travels in the East in the interest of the Israelites, to send the annexed petition to the Chief Court of Commissioners for the affairs of the Israelites in the Netherlands; and this petition will not only serve to prove their sincere interest in these travels and their probable results, but likewise warmly to bespeak assistance and sympathy in behalf of the above wellknown and celebrated traveller in his intended journey to the possessions of the Netherlands in the East Indies.

Rotterdam and the Hague. Ijar 5617 (Mai 1857).

(signed)

B. S. Berenstein,

C. R. of the Jew. Com. at the Hague.

Ib. van Ib. Ferares,

C. R. of the Portuguese Jew. Com. at the Hague.

Dr. J. Isaacsohn,

C. R. of Rotterdam.

To the Chief Court of Commissioners
for the affairs of the Israelites in the Netherlands
at the Hague.

M e m o r i a l.

By every one who has turned his attention to the history of the settlement of our fellow-worshippers in the hospitable Netherlands, the close connection and establishment of our religious confederacy in their transatlantic colonies deserves especial notice. The first settlement of the Israelites in the Netherlands took place almost at the same time with the discovery of America; and hardly had the Netherlands come into possession of the important colonies in the West-Indies, as they were called, when the enterprising spirit of the Jews of the Netherlands took advantage of this circumstance by extending to those parts their commercial transactions; and how this has forwarded the welfare of the communities, and what general benefit it has conferred upon the colonies, is sufficiently well known.

In later years it became a subject of inquiry why the discernment of the learned men and merchants of former days had omitted to take into consideration the advantages which might have been derived from the still more profitable colonies of the East-Indies. Perhaps they hesitated on account of their well known devotion to their faith and religious observances of their forfathers, precepts, and customs, which, they believed, they would be unable to follow in such remote parts. However, from time to time solitary adventurers, mostly from the lower class, went out either as sailors or in some such position; but they were too much wanting in ability and knowledge, and had too little feeling of religion, to think of establishing anything there of a religious character. From the want of moral and religious education in these adventurers, in every effort to establish anything relative to divine service, one could not calculate either on success; there was no confidence to be placed in anything. It was considered useless to expend a sum of any amount for providing even the most necessary arrangements as a first preparation for the establishment of an Israelitish religious association, for fear of the desecration of

those minor usages, which Israelites are bound to observe with particular reverence and care. But within the last few years, when the transmission of means is considerably safer and easier, the wish to plant the ensign of our faith among our fellow-worshippers in those parts has gradually become more earnest. Not only from a scientific and philanthropic, but likewise from a material and commercial point of view, and even influenced by pure selfishness, some of our brethren from the Netherlands began to perceive the benefits to be derived from it, and to feel the want of it. These wishes, however, were never carried out, and the matter was never seriously considered nor undertaken with any decision, on account of the difficulty of finding suitable persons capable and worthy of such a mission, to whom it could be entrusted with the prospect of its wished-for success. — But the appearance at this moment in the Netherlands of one who possesses an extensive knowledge of the Israelitish faith and literature, and who has the intention of continuing in a short time those journies in the far East, which he has already made with such extraordinary circumspection and self-sacrifice, in order to add to the discoveries so important for Israelitish history, he has already made, — his presence, besides the interest felt for the success of his most praise-worthy undertaking, and besides the desire to favour his scientific journey, has in a great degree increased that wish to establish a branch of our religious community in those important Eastern transatlantic possessions of the Netherlands. We are likewise animated by the same wish, and are much pleased that this wish for the furtherance of the plan proposed by the noble undertaker of the journey, according, as it does, so well with science and religion, should have found general willing sympathy and support. As priests, we feel ourselves particularly impelled to forward the wishes of so many members of our community and to offer our assistance towards obtaining the help of our charitable Government. The assistance which is granted from the colonial funds for all public scientific, and moral enter-

prises, induces us to take the liberty of laying claim to it for the enterprise in question; and we could not allow the present favourable opportunity for the possible fulfilment of the hopes, which many of us have so long cherished, to pass by, without earnestly urging the necessity of their realisation on our respected Government.

For this purpose we take the liberty of bringing before your consideration, as concisely as possible, our opinions respecting the advantages and the necessity of the object in view; and if they should meet your approbation, it will certainly be easy to your profound judgment to suggest to the respected Government the means for the attainment of our wishes.

1. Our neverdying attachment for our religion is an inducement important enough to insure the acceptance of our representation. Why should we stand behind other religious communities who contribute so much to the support and extension of their faith? Certainly, the Jewish religion it not, as others, bound to the duty of making proselytes; but still we ought not to be indifferent when so many of our brethren wander about without any place for religious assembly, so that religion becomes partly, if not quite, extinguished among them. We have therefore considered it as a sacred obligation to embrace the present opportunity, as the means of removing this injurious state of things. We certainly could not request from the respected Government the large expenses necessary for the establishment of a synagogue at Java, until the *certainty* of a successful result existed. — But for the mission which Mr. Benjamin is willing to undertake, without either certain assistance or later reward, a free passage and a moderate allowance to defray his expenses could well be allowed: for this small outlay it would certainly be worth while to attempt the improvement of the condition of the Israelites, and it might well be granted to us on the principle of equality with other religious sects.

2. The furthering of philanthropic purposes might also

be taken into account as a motive for a favourable consideration of our statement; for they are promoted above all under religious guidance. Furtherance of religious feeling and extension of the knowledge of God are indispensable to a great extent to the morality of society. Among the Europeans dwelling in those countries is especially found the necessity of moral influence and powerful remedies for the restraint of human passions, and the checking of immorality. Government itself appears to comprehend this, and to further, in consequence, the establishment of churches, and to watch over their safety. In the colonies the principle of the division between church and state appears not yet to have been brought into play; and the jurisdiction of the Government has a greater control than in the mother country over instruction and morality. Under its superintendence the clerical authorities exercise direct influence on these important interests of society. Has not the Israelitish community, as bearing a not inconsiderable proportion to the population of the Netherlands, a right to demand the same protection too? Is it anything but fair that the avowers of our faith should possess some authority which would watch over the interests of their religion? For want of such a superintendence, is not the fear well grounded that a baneful influence from other churches there may be exercised over the minds of our fellow-worshippers? If they do not degenerate into complete irreligion, they are still exposed to the seductions of missionaries, who, in their artful dealings, leave no means untried to effect their object. And when the moral feeling craves for its own religion, but this craving can nowhere find means to satisfy itself, then it becomes all the easier to dispose it towards the prevailing religion of the majority. Experience teaches us daily that missionaries everywhere take advantage of the want of religious knowledge; and they are apt to direct to that weak point their cunning artifices. We have nothing to say to the appointment of teachers; this can only be demanded by the community itself. But to regulate this

demand, and to waken our fellow-worshippers from this dangerous moral slumber, fairness requires that the Government should weigh all this for the benefit of its subjects, and should finally determine to take advantage of the present opportunity, as the means of endeavouring to improve their wretched condition.

3. But likewise in a philanthropic point of view this undertaking deserves to be recommended. It were superfluous to depict to you the unhappy condition in which most of our fellow-Israelites are to be found. It is not to be concealed that neither industry or public trade flourish among them. The cause of it is not, as is so often stated, their want of capacity; it is to be found rather in the difficulties which are placed in their way by — yes, we must confess it to our shame — others from among ourselves. — Though we cannot sufficiently acknowledge the noble benevolence of many belonging to other sects, who generously support the furtherance of trade among the Israelites, still, we but too frequently meet with old prejudices, which time alone can surmount. Besides this, the general extension of commercial industry works, on account of the position of the Netherlands, very prejudiciously on the whole of the middleclasses of society, and particularly on the Israelites, among whom, we confess with regret, trade evidently decreases. The necessity for an outlet for the population, which under God's blessing is increasing, is ever becoming a matter of greater importance, and points us to the possessions of the Netherlands beyond seas, with their branches of trade so entirely suited to the characters of the Israelites. However, the Israelites in the Netherlands are so much devoted to their faith, and to their ancestral customs, that they cannot resolve to proceed to a country where no opportunity is given for the exercise of their holy religion. Even the careless desire ardently to rest among their departed brethren; while those who are indifferent on this point, seldom elevate themselves in society to a high degree of virtue and morality. The establishment of an Israelitish

community in those parts is the only way to remove the evil, and to cause the wished-for emigration. Such an undertaking is generally commenced with the careful arrangement of an especial place of burial; by this means the fear with which the Israelite quits Europe — viz, that of an early death — is quieted, and himself encouraged to trust still to God's kind Providence. Those too who are troubled with the fear of violating and transgressing religious precepts, see, in the erection of a synagogue, at least the possibility of being able to perform their religious duties aright. The Government at the opening of a colony in their Eastern possessions has very properly already recognised the necessity of an ecclesiastical guide and head. In consequence of petitions, which have been presented, ecclesiastical authorities have been invited to join the undertaking of the Government; and most honourably have they performed their duties, the beneficial results of which have distinctly shewn themselves in days of trouble and persecution.

For the Israelites also, their guidance has not been less useful and necessary; but the erection of a synagogue is a first consideration; — this alone can place the Jew in the position of being able to live as a religious Israelite, and therefore it is that the erection of a place of worship has always been the first care of every Israelitish community. In the establishment of a church confederacy in the East Indies, a man of religion, tact, and perseverance is requisite; and, according to our conviction, no one could be more fitted for such an undertaking than the well-known traveller Mr. Benjamin. To this man, who is well acquainted with all the difficulties attending such an undertaking, and prepared to surmount them, it will be comparatively easy to take the necessary precautions, and to make every preparation for an establishment, which will satisfy every scruple of conscience on the part of those interested, and arouse the less opulent Israelites from their carelessness and timidity to develope their physical and mental powers in a country where a better future awaits them.

4. Meanwhile, among the more wealthy class of merchants the desire for the realisation of this plan has become particularly urgent. Confidence is the first requisite for the formation of transatlantic commercial connections on such a basis as to ensure a favourable result, and a Netherlander is not one easily induced to feel confidence in a distant country. And even by our fellow-worshippers in other countries, such connections exist for the most part among brothers and relations, or between those who by long service have proved themselves faithful to those who employed them. When such connections exist, distance does not in the least degree loosen the bonds of love, of relationship, or of friendship. For the Jew of the Netherlands, however, a very great difficulty presents itself from the want of all religious society, whereby he can remain faithful to his ancestral belief. Change of religion loosens at the same time the ties of relationship, rouses mistrust in mutual intercourse, and even frequently destroys commercial associations which have been arranged but with much trouble. The establishment of church confederacy is alone able to disperse all fear; and every one will be willing to make a sacrifice in order to preserve, and do his best to complete the arrangements when once made. The extension of commercial intercourse increases prosperity, and must work favourably with regard to the church confederacy in the mother country, by means of the success of its members. This is surely an important reason; and without doubt a sufficient one to induce you, to whom the charge of the Israelitish affairs is confided, actively to forward the plan proposed, and to strive to obtain the co-operation of the respected Government in an effort to promote its success.

5. Our representation is also recommended by the material interests arising from it for the members of our faith. By the constant increase of competition, it becomes each day more difficult for parents and guardians to obtain for the objects of their love and care good prospects for the future. Experience shows us that many of our European

brethren in the faith have in far distant countries succeeded in obtaining good prospects and a high position in the commercial world. The East-Indian colonies, which have not yet been worked enough by the spirit of commerce, would open a smooth path for our young men, who, in the full vigour of life, and possessed with some means, would find there an opportunity for the advantageous employment of their powers and acquirements, and a hopeful prospect of future success. But the pious-minded cannot easily resolve to risk eternal salvation for temporal prosperity. Considered in this point of view, the prospect of the erection of a synagogue, and thereby of the satisfying the most important religious wants, would induce parents and guardians to allow their charges to proceed thither. With confidence in the moral principles which have been until now instilled into them, their careful preceptors would no longer hesitate to send them to a far country, where there is offered to them, with more certainty than here, a good standing in the commercial world, and where also heavenly food can be obtained in the bosom of the church. And even the greater activity and prudence to which they would be obliged to accustom themselves during the first years of their residence there, would exercise a favourable influence on their piety and morality, and carelessness and indifference, which now occupy their minds for want of employment, would then be changed into earnestness and zeal.

6. Even the simple purpose of this journey, to make still further researches concerning the condition of our brethren in the faith in several parts deserves encouragement and assistance. This certainly may appear at first sight to be of no interest to our Government; but on nearer inspection it is obvious that merely from motives of general philanthropy it is fully entitled to the sympathy of the legislature. The experience of later years has oftentimes taught us how many advantages have arisen for mankind from the mediation of one kingdom with another, and how this mediation with kingdoms, where religious tolerance was

unknown, has obtained perfect freedom and equality for all religions for the future. Even the evils arising from religious hatred and fanatic zeal, and the degeneracy into avarice and blood thirstiness, to which our brethren in the faith were exposed 30 years ago, are checked by the intervention of other Powers, and the sufferings of the unhappy victims have thereby become less. In a later case of persecution of the Jews, a Government, under which emancipation had never existed, came forward in the interests of humanity, discovered the dreadful means used for persecution, and suppressed the crying evil. The Netherlanders have likewise often shewn their sympathy for the unhappy fate of those oppressed in other countries and in every place, where religious hatred has been the cause of persecution, they have readily accorded their intercession for the sufferers. Hardly a century ago did the respected Government, in answer to a petition offered by an Israelitish community in the Netherlands, exercise its mediation with a foreign Government; and with such effect that the command that the Israelites should quit their birth place and homes was revoked. But many of our brethren still groan under the oppression of despotism in the East; and in proof of this the above mentioned traveller furnishes us with extraordinary statements. The credibility of his accounts has been recognised by the most celebrated scholars in France, and they have likewise been confirmed by critical investigation. Our traveller has already, in many places, proved himself a benefactor to his suffering brethren; and it would conduce to the imperishable glory of our Government, if they would extend a helping hand to their unfortunate fellow-creatures, an act which they can the more easily perform, in as much as it is, only desired they should undertake the expenses of the journey, and nothing more. We feel assured that when once a religious community for the Israelites has been established, our wealthy brethren here as well as there will join in its support by direct as well as by indirect assistance.

7. Further search from the colonies of the Netherlands for our scattered brethren can, under the blessing of God, be likewise productive of beneficial results for the temporal welfare of our brethren there, and probably open new paths for our Netherlandic trade. The history of the times of Charles the Great informs us, that solely through the instrumentality of our brethren in the faith very extensive commercial transactions were negotiated with Arabia and Persia. It appears that seeking for sources of trade was the first inducement for the celebrated journey of Benjamin of Tudela. The difficulty of the means of communication, and the cruelty of the middle ages caused this journey to be fruitless, and the enterprises begun were soon frustrated. In the meantime, the enterprising spirit of our fellow-workshippers has shone brightly since the persecutions on the Iberian peninsula and in Germany in the pages of later history, and probably the Netherlands have also in part to thank that spirit of enterprise for their flourishing trade in the beginning of the thirty years war. By the extension of the association of our brethren, commercial connections are now easier to be formed. The wish for pious and well educated Israelites brought many of them from Bagdad and Arabia to the English possessions, where they found a wide field for their enterprising spirit and reaped a *rich* harvest therefrom. By the increase of education and knowledge among our Western brethren, it will be a matter of less difficulty in these days for our young people to derive advantages from these new openings; and when once efforts are commenced for the promotion of their eternal welfare, he, who has proved himself worthy of the confidence of his brethren in the East-Indian possessions of the Netherlands, will be placed in a position of being able to further their temporal welfare also.

We take the liberty of bringing these different points under the consideration of your profound wisdom, and we flatter ourselves with the hope of obtaining by your mediation the co-operation of the respected Government for the

execution of the proposed plan. The ways and means of carrying it out are matters of secondary consideration, — if Government will only favourably receive our present representation. We will only place in the foreground that with the many means of transport at the disposition of Government, the expense of the journey can be but comparatively trifling; and thus nothing stands in the way of carrying it out. The small expenditure bears no comparison with the advantages promised by the expedition. We believe ourselves justified in especially recommending to you this plan for your kind assistance in your official capacity; and then will be enhanced the glory and dignity of Israel, when once by your assistance, under the flag of the Netherlands, shall wave the banner of Israel's church confederacy in the East-Indies. The reproach of proselytism can in no way be made against you, as the mission only confines itself to the furtherance of religion among our own people; a pure work of piety, acceptable to the God of Israel. It will be called a noble effort, if virtue and probity, prosperity and piety increase in Israel, if by Israel's humanity and benevolence, happy sources are opened for so many idle hands; and if by generous assistance, the industry of many an Israelite is roused, and he sees himself, under the protection of a church confederacy, free from all oppression. Therein will be recognised the fulfilment of the words of the prophet: „W'erastich.“¹

Given by us, the Chief-Rabbis of the Chief-Synagogue of Rotterdam and the Hague.

Rotterdam and the Hague.

Ijar 5617 (Mai 1857).

(signed) *B. S. Berenstein,*

C. R. of the Jew. Com. at the Hague.

Ib. van Ib. Ferares,

C. R. of the Portuguese Jew. Com. at the Hague.


Dr. J. Isaacsohn,

C. R. of Rotterdam.

¹ The passage alluded to here is the following: „I have betrothed thee unto me for ever. I have betrothed thee unto myself in righteousness and in judgment and kindness and mercy. I have betrothed thee unto myself in faith.“

On the part of the chief committee, the objection was raised to the above petition, that I as a foreigner, could, like any-one else, only go to the Dutch East-Indies if I were able to prove the possèssion of a certain sum of money. In order to remove this difficulty, I addressed myself to the Professors of Oriental languages at the universities of Leyden and Delfzyl, on whose especial recommendations, permission was granted to me by the Minister to proceed to the Dutch East-Indies, without being called upon to produce the required sum.— But as a definite decision on the part of the Chief Committee was delayed, I travelled to Frankfurt on the Maine, and learnt there, for the purposes of my second journey, photography and stereoscopy, and likewise provided myself with the necessary apparatus.

As no definite answer arrived from the Hague, I then proceeded to Hanover, where I published the present work. After having arranged my personal and family affairs at home, I hope under the protection of the Almighty, soon to commence my second journey, and with the assistance of the Eternal, once more to investigate those countries, which are the cradle of all science and wisdom, and whose secrets have all been too long shrouded in night and darkness.



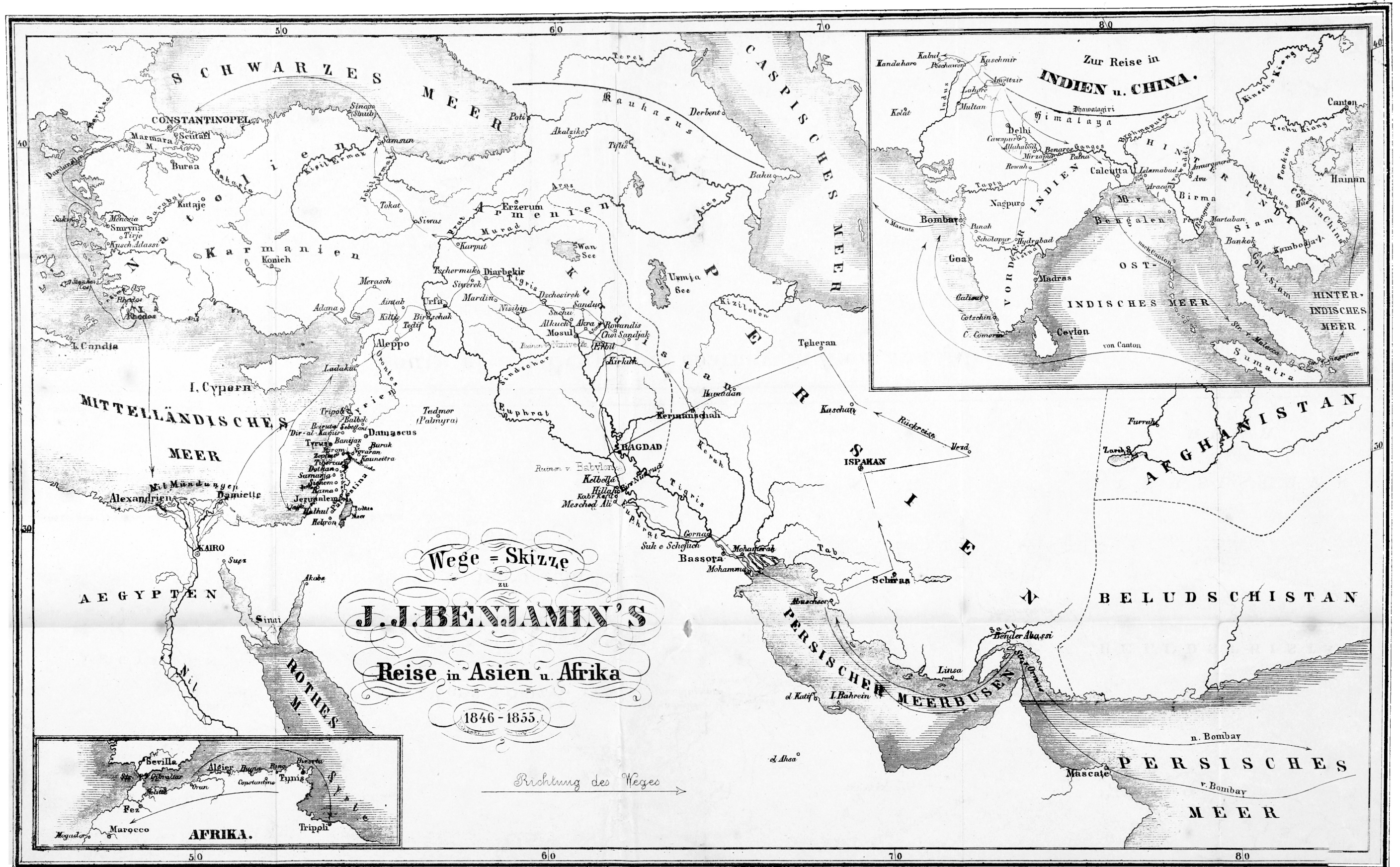
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